THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

JANUARY 1961

Rats, Fleas, and Fallacies	*Edward P. Coleson*	3
On Private Property and Economic Power	*Hans F. Sennholz*	11
The Competitive Spirit	*A. M. Sullivan*	15
The Ultimate Foreign Aid	*H. P. B. Jenkins*	17
Republic and Democracy: A Study in Meanings	*Frederick A. Manchester*	18
Who's To Blame?	*Benjamin A. Rogge*	33
It Isn't Insurance	*Morley Cassidy*	37
A New Order of the Ages	*Samuel B. Pettengill*	40
How To "Live" with Your Job	*Gerald Gordon, M.D.*	48
Book Reviews:		
Clarifying Fundamentals	*John Chamberlain*	58
Other Books		61

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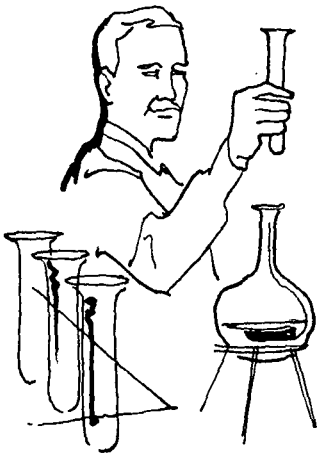

EDWARD P. COLESON

RATS, FLEAS AND Fallacies

Concerning the
"Pestilence that Walketh in Darkness"
of Ignorance

THE END of all flesh was at hand. Europe and the world were dying and there was no one to bury the dead. Ghost ships drifted aimlessly at sea, for all the crew had perished. A goose girl found herself mistress of the manor with its gowns and jewels. Only she survived. Wolves took up their abode in the tenantless homes of the people. This was the Black Death of 1348, a mighty scourge that swept away perhaps half the population of the world. When the foremost doctor of the age was asked to explain the catastrophe, he answered: "The grand conjunction of the three superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, in the sign of Aquarius, produced the Black Death." More recently men were to learn that the plague was rather due to a malign conjunction of microbes, rats, and fleas. In the meantime the pestilence that walked in the darkness of ignorance could not be controlled.

The Root of the Difficulty

The rise of scientific medicine has been one of the seven wonders of the modern world and certainly one of the foremost. A century ago the use of anesthetics was scarcely more than a dozen years old, a revolutionary technique that stilled the anguished cries of the patients who had formerly suffered the tortures of the knife while strapped to the operating table. Now the surgeon could operate in peace, but he was wholly helpless against the awful spread of infection which regularly carried away most, if not all, of his

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patients. Incisions were well-nigh universally infected and doctors expected what they called "laudable pus" to develop in the wound. Those were the days when the patient was supposed to get worse before he got better but few ever lived to recover. James Young Simpson, who discovered the anesthetic properties of chloroform, lamented that "a man laid on the operating table in one of our surgical hospitals is exposed to more chances of death than the English soldier on the field of Waterloo." Indeed, Simpson suggested abolishing hospitals altogether!

Nor were the folks who escaped the surgeon's knife much better off. Adam Smith remarked in the *Wealth of Nations:* "It is not uncommon . . . in the Highlands of Scotland for a mother who has borne twenty children not to have two alive." What passed for cities at the time had such a tragically high mortality in spite of the high birth rate that they were only able to maintain themselves by the constant influx of folks from the country. The notorious White Man's Grave of West Africa could hardly have been more unhealthful.

About a century ago a French chemist by the name of Louis Pasteur was doing a bit of industrial consulting. The wine industry of France was sick, and Pasteur who had been working on the problem of fermentation was called in to diagnose the difficulty. Out of this study grew Pasteurization so familiar in the dairy industry today. Hearing of his work, a Scottish surgeon, Joseph Lister, decided that perhaps those strange microorganisms with which Pasteur had been struggling might be the cause of the pestilence which stalked the wards of the hospitals and made them a literal pesthole of infection. Lister's first antiseptic operation was performed August 12, 1865. His technique was simple. He sterilized his instruments with carbolic acid and had an assistant spray the air above the incision with more of the same. The wound healed clean without infection. The long reign of "laudable pus" was drawing to a close, and a new era of health and well-being was soon to be ushered in. It took time. There was the usual bitter opposition, but the new method finally won out – at least in theory – in advanced countries, although more than enough people die prematurely and needlessly even here. Yet there are vast areas today where the blessings of modern sanitation are all but unknown, and people go on dying as they did in the hills of Scotland in the days of Adam Smith.

One of the writer's vivid recol-

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lections of West Africa is that of a newborn infant writhing in the last stages of tetanus, because the native midwife had never heard what caused infection. The baby was dead by morning as millions of others have died and will continue to die for years to come, and all so needlessly. The Europeans in West Africa largely banished the curse of the White Man's Grave for themselves years ago by boiling their drinking water, screening their homes, and taking antimalarial regularly – simple precautions upon which they have no monopoly and which they have been trying for years to share with the native people. The latter are catching on to the new techniques, if belatedly and slowly. But then, it is well to recall that even the most able doctors in the world didn't know what caused infection a hundred years ago.

The Triumph and Failure of the Twentieth Century

The writer once heard a doctor boast how the medical profession had banished the ills of mankind. He quoted statistics to prove that such former scourges as smallpox and diphtheria were well-nigh conquered and great gains were being made in most other areas. He assured us that if the rest of us had succeeded as well in solving the great problems of mankind – war, crime, poverty, and depressions – that we would have gone a long way in ushering in that Golden Age for which men have always yearned.

The doctor's lament is a common one. It is quite customary for science students to speak derisively of the chaotic state of the world which they like to contrast with the precise and ordered realm of mathematics or physics. They somehow seem to think that they are absolved from any blame for the crisis of our time; the responsibility must lie with the "specialists" in social science, philosophy, or religion. Such an attitude reveals a wholly fallacious "world view" in the mind of the "scientist," and indicates that he, too, is part of the problem rather than a start on the solution. There are some pretty important differences between pure science as such and the realm of human affairs.

Social Science Versus the Physical Sciences

It is a favorite notion of our time that the physical scientist follows the path of truth with unerring instinct, never misses his way, and always instantly recognizes a good idea when he sees one. The social scientist, on the other hand, is pictured as a paleolithic medicine man who has not yet gotten himself clear of the

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jungle. Man's struggle to find the proper center for his solar system, which took a couple thousand years, should indicate that this is hardly true. Many other examples from the physical sciences could be cited – the development of our ideas of the nature of matter from the air-fire-earth-and-water notions of the Greeks through John Dalton's atomic theory to nuclear reactors, the fumbling attempts to discover the true nature of combustion, the feud over the germ theory of disease within the century, and so on – to prove that it takes the natural scientist time to "catch on," too. The search after truth is an arduous one in any line of human endeavor. The physical scientist, however, has the great advantage that ordinary people are not emotionally involved in his experimental efforts to the extent they are in the social sciences. No one ever got excited over Archimedes' Principle – except Archimedes. Men have never been asked to give their lives for the Theorem of Pythagoras.

"Involved in Mankind"

The social scientist by contrast is inevitably "involved in mankind." He cannot go into his laboratory like the chemist, perform his experiments, however tedious they may be, and then release his results when he is ready. The great "social experiments" of our time – socialism, communism, Square Deals, New Deals and Fair Deals, Social Security, and the rest – may involve ultimately the whole of mankind for better or worse. We might take some island way out in the Pacific – pity the people – and try all the new social, political, economic, and educational ideas there before releasing them for use on the rest of the folks. It won't be done, however much suffering it might save the human family. Also, in a social situation it is ordinarily impossible to hold all known factors constant except one as we attempt to do in physics. Worst of all, the experiments often cannot be repeated and checked. Maybe no one would want to. If only we could take the history of the last half-century and run it through again, but –

> The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
> Moves on; nor all your Piety nor Wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
> Nor all your Tears wash out a word of it.
>
> —OMAR KHAYYAM

Since they are so inextricably interwoven with the institutions men live by, the social sciences are not nearly as autonomous as the physical sciences. The physicists

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"run" physics, the astronomers, astronomy, and the like; and outsiders ordinarily stay discreetly on the outside, which is what is expected of them. A man who knows so little science that he thinks HCl is the high cost of living will not presume to intrude into the laboratory. He'd be afraid of blowing himself up. Yet he knows just how the country ought to be run, and will not be at all backward about expressing his opinion, however ignorant he may be of the question under consideration. But men do not instinctively have the wisdom to make proper choices involving the welfare of mankind without study and thought which should be abundantly evident by now. The ages that are past and gone have something to teach. Principles that have been laid down by diligent study and careful thought have value, even if they leave something to be desired at times, which is also true in chemistry or physics.

A Question of Management

It was said during the Great Depression that perhaps one person in ten thousand knew enough economics and understood the history of the recent past well enough to have much notion about what caused the disaster. Should that one-hundredth of one per cent of the population take over the management of the country because they alone qualify to do it? And who is going to choose the specialists since there will be many offering their services? Obviously, leaving all decisions involving the application of the social sciences to the ordering of our lives and government in the hands of a few self-styled experts might well mean tyranny of the grossest sort, and few of us would care to take the chance. Nor would it be democracy. Yet, we cannot have multitudes of people organized in diverse pressure groups, insisting on assorted policies that are wholly unrealistic and mutually exclusive, if not utterly unworkable. Then, when problems become intolerably complicated, people throw up their hands in despair and look around for a good dictator. Rome was taken over by the Caesars only after democracy had failed utterly and the Roman world was reduced to chaos. By and large the Romans were genuinely relieved when a man like Augustus took over the management, too.

But perhaps there is still a greater problem than people's emotional involvement in social science or even the fact that every man is an "expert" in the field. It has been the history of the world that even when people *know* what they ought to do, they just plain

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won't do it. The human "cussedness" factor is much more significant in the realm of human relations than in the physical sciences. Furthermore, the temptations and opportunities to subvert, confuse, and propagandize are vastly greater than in the more impersonal aspects of life. Small wonder then that the social studies field often ends up as a battleground, especially in these times when people in general are confused and not at all sure in which direction they want to move.

Inflation Through the Ages

It is fascinating, although disheartening, to note how ancient problems, which men once thought they had solved, arise again and again to plague mankind. Take, for instance, the simple problem of inflation. That's an old one, but "modern" man in the Space Age seems to be completely mystified by the upward push of the "consumer index," although many of the old-timers who had no index knew what was causing the trouble. Inflation is a chronic disorder of economic life, often becoming acute, for the simple reason that the powers-that-be just can't resist the temptation to multiply the effective monetary stock — what passes for money — whenever they are hard pressed for funds to promote another vote-catching scheme to please the rest of us. Obviously, if we are going to have fiscal responsibility, there must be an effective check on both the politician and the voters who keep him in power, which is a powerful argument for keeping our tax dollars and control over them at home. We, the people, pay all the bills anyway, so we can't lose by doing so directly through local government or private agencies which supply the needed services. Furthermore, the folks back home can't print money arbitrarily as central governments are prone to do.

Inflation is an interesting phenomenon, too, aside from the fact that it is presumably the No. 1 problem today. For one thing, the cause and symptoms have been clearly recognized for a long time, literally ages before man understood the cause of infection or the secrets of the atom. The Caesars did more than their share of debasing the coinage until money passed from hand to hand in bags without opening, because it didn't pay to take the time to count the worthless stuff. Marco Polo observed that the Mongols had discovered the secret of alchemy "in perfection" by making paper money from the inner bark of the mulberry trees. The Khan overissued it, too, until it "wasn't worth a continental." It was just too

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easy to make more. Polo estimated that the Khan's annual addition to the monetary stock "must equal in amount all the treasure in the world." David Hume was aware back in 1752 what a calamity it would be if "all the money of Great Britain were multiplied fivefold in a night."

Cheap Money Policies of the Past

The consequence of cheap money policies was well understood a thousand years before the Caesars started multiplying the denarii to provide a "Roman holiday." Lycurgus, founder of the Spartan state, knew perfectly well how to reduce his countrymen to the state of abject poverty he thought would be good for them. He decreed that they use iron money so that it would be nearly worthless. It was; trade languished; and it cannot be denied that he succeeded very well in accomplishing his purpose. What mystifies the thoughtful citizen today is how our contemporaries hope to build "an affluent society" on the basis of "easy money" with less intrinsic value than old Lycurgus' iron standard. Can we hope that our luck will be better than the multitude of others who have tried the same scheme with the same results, down through history?

Now, of course it is true, once people have gotten used to a representative money – paper backed by gold – that one can quietly pull the gold out from under the paper without any noticeable effects in the short run; and, if the responsible authorities can resist the pressures and temptations to expand the supply, the system may work a long time without any difficulties. But that's the rub! There must be effective restraints, checks and balances, before any monetary system will work for long. Also, the arrangement must be simple enough so that ordinary people can understand it, and know if their money has been tampered with. That may sound like an impossible ideal but Adam Smith stated that:

> When king John of France, in order to pay his debts, adulterated his coin, all the officers of his mint were sworn to secrecy. [Even then the fraud] ... could never be concealed very long ... [and] the coin ... after the greatest adulterations ... has almost always been brought back to its former fineness. It has scarce ever happened that the fury and indignation of the people could otherwise be appeased.

It is significant that democratic governments today regularly resort to what Smith called that "juggling trick" of debasing the monetary standard, something that even a tyrant couldn't get by

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with then. It is an ominous trend, too, when one recalls Lenin's suggestion that the way to destroy capitalism is to debauch the currency.

If, in this scientific age, we put any confidence in the experimental method, few things have been tried more often or have more uniformly come out the same way than the experiment in inflation upon which we seem to be embarked at present. It has been proven again and again that a currency or coinage tends to drop to the intrinsic value of the material of which it is made. Obviously, it can't fall farther or the money would be taken out of circulation for its scrap value; but as long as it is overvalued, there will be pressure to make more. Surely, Boyle's Law is no more solidly substantiated.

A Sound Money Depends on Sound Economic Policies

But there is more to achieving monetary stability than simply returning to gold. We wouldn't stay on gold – you recall we didn't – unless we quit trying to do a lot of things which are inconsistent with the workings of a gold standard or any stable monetary system. The thing that is destroying the value of our money, and our nation along with it, is our endless round of perpetual-motion schemes – something for nothing – economic witchcraft that doesn't go well with the atomic and jet age. If our money hasn't dropped yet to the price of wastepaper, this does not deny we are headed in that direction. At a yearly inflation rate which approximates normal interest charges, it shouldn't take more than a generation or two to get there. In the meantime we'll suffer the fate of France, which, said Dickens, in the opening page of the *Tale of Two Cities*, "rolled with exceeding smoothness down hill, making paper money and spending it."

Our persisting blunders in the social realm, as compared with our success in science, is particularly striking when one recalls that Copernicus suggested to his contemporaries how to get back to sound money more than twenty years before he published his great work which reordered the universe. There was the usual delay in getting people to change their astronomical concepts, which seems to distress us greatly. We are most uncharitable with Galileo's tormentors nearly a century later, who had not yet caught up with the Copernican revolution in astronomy. But we have not yet learned the simple lesson in economics which Copernicus tried to teach before he took up his larger assignment in outer space. Science

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we learn slowly, but *economics* – that we *do not* learn!

This incredible lag is intolerable. Adam Smith published the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. It had its limitations, but it was a tremendous step forward. John Dalton proposed the basis of modern atomic theory a generation later. His ideas were inadequate, too, but a real milestone in human progress, and the reader cannot help knowing something of the enormous strides we have made, for good or ill, in the last century and a half.

In the economic realm we made great progress for a time, but have since reverted to sixteenth century mercantilism with all its maladjustments, frustrations, and inevitable tendencies toward war. As Bastiat said more than a hundred years ago: "When goods don't cross frontiers, armies will." Tensions mount hourly and, too often, technological advances are canceled out by more mercantilist restrictions, or are devoted to mankind's destruction.

If we were only back with John Dalton and his harmless atom of 1803! The tragedy of our age is that we have gotten so far ahead of John Dalton but have failed to catch up with Adam Smith – or with Moses and the Moral Law, for sound economics and good ethics are one and the same. The great unfinished task of the twentieth century is to rid our economic and moral philosophy of rats, fleas, and fallacies. ◆

HANS F. SENNHOLZ

On Private Property and Economic Power

IN THEIR DENUNCIATION of our social order the socialists usually follow two patterns of attack. While some depict in glowing colors the desirability of socialism, others describe the alleged horrors of the individual enterprise system. In his *Moral Man and Immoral Society* Reinhold Niebuhr mainly adheres to the latter while pleading the case for socialism. This book virtually "made" Niebuhr when it appeared in 1934. It provides the lenses through

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which many people, even today, view social problems.

We agree with Niebuhr that power is evil and ought to be distrusted. But "only the Marxian proletarian," says Niebuhr, "has seen this problem with perfect clarity. If he makes mistakes in choosing the means of accomplishing his ends, he has made no mistake either in stating the rational goal toward which society must move, the goal of equal justice, or in understanding the economic foundations of justice." (pp. 164-165) Only the Marxian proletarian has recognized this.

When Niebuhr speaks of the "ruling classes" – by which he means the defenders of capitalism – he uses harsh terms such as "prejudice," "hypocrisy," and "dishonesty." Their reasoning, religion, and culture, according to Niebuhr, "are themselves the product of, or at least colored by, the partial experience of the class." (pp. 140-141) In other words, anyone defending individual freedom, private property, and enterprise, is unmasked as an advocate of the special privileges and interests of the bourgeois class.

According to Niebuhrian philosophy the population is divided into economic classes whose interests differ radically from each other. But only the Marxian proletarian strives at rational goals toward which a just society must move. The individual enterprise order is corrupt and unjust because it is built on the special interests and economic powers of the bourgeois class.

All three suppositions are fallacious. There are no classes, no class privileges in the society contemplated by the classic philosophers and economists. Before the law everyone is to be treated equally. The ancient privileges of rank, estate, or class were abolished by repeal legislation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Private Wealth Consists of Capital

Private property is no special privilege enjoyed by the bourgeois class. It is a natural institution that facilitates orderly production and division of labor. Private ownership of the means of production is in the interest of everyone, for it assures the most economic employment of scarce resources. The efficient entrepreneur, who produces what the people want in the most efficient manner, acquires control over productive capital. His wealth mainly consists of capital employed in the production of goods for the people.

The critics of capitalism who deplore the great differences between the wealthy industrialist and workingmen overlook this

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characteristic of the industrialist's wealth. His wealth does not consist of idle luxuries, but of factories, machines, and equipment that produce for the people, give employment, and yield high wages. It is true the successful entrepreneur usually enjoys a higher standard of living than his employee. The car he drives may be a later model. The suit he wears may be custom-made and his house may have wall-to-wall carpeting. But his living conditions do not differ essentially from those of his workers.

Economic Power Is Derivative

The businessman's power is derived from the sovereign power of consumers. His ability to manage wisely the factors of production earns him the consumer's support. This is not anchored in legal privilege, custom, or tradition, but in his ability to serve the only sovereign boss of the capitalist economy: the consumer. The businessman, no matter how great his powers may appear, must cater to the whims and wishes of the buyers. To neglect them spells disaster to him.

A well-known example may illustrate the case. Henry Ford rose to fame, wealth, and power when he produced millions of cars that people liked and desired. But during the late 1920's their tastes and preferences began to change. They wanted a greater variety of bigger and better cars which Ford refused to manufacture. Consequently, while other companies such as General Motors and Chrysler grew by leaps and bounds, the Ford enterprise suffered staggering losses. Thus the power and reputation of Henry Ford declined, for a time, as rapidly as it had grown during the earlier decades.

It is true, a businessman probably can afford to disregard or disappoint a single buyer. But he must pay the price in the form of lower sales and earnings. If he continuously disappoints his buyers, he will soon be eliminated from the rank of entrepreneurs.

It is also true that a businessman may be rude and unfair toward an employee. But he must pay a high price for his arbitrariness. His men tend to leave him and seek employment with competitors. In order to attract the needed labor, the businessman in ill repute will have to pay a premium above the wages paid by more considerate competitors. But higher costs lead to his elimination. If he pays lower wages, he loses his efficient help to his competitors, which, too, entails his elimination.

A successful businessman is dependable, reliable, and fair. He

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endeavors to earn the trust and goodwill of his customers as well as of his workers. In fact, the businessman's striving for goodwill may shape a colorless personality. In order to avoid controversy and hostility, he mostly withholds or even refrains from forming an opinion on political or economic issues. Many businessmen aim to be neutral with regard to all controversial problems and issues.

Capitalism a Haven for Workingman

A capitalist society is a haven for workingmen who are the greatest beneficiaries of its order. One merely needs to compare the working and living conditions of the American worker with those of his colleagues in noncapitalistic countries, such as India or China. He is the prince among the world's laborers; his work week is the shortest, his physical exertion the least, and his wages are by far the highest.

The millionaire is less enviable in capitalism than in noncapitalist societies. His wealth mainly consists of capital investments which he must defend continuously in keen competition with other businessmen. His consumptive wealth, which is a minor fraction of his total wealth, probably is rather modest. But the Indian millionaire, most likely a rajah, is not concerned with production and competition. He resides in a huge mansion, surrounded by his harem and catered to by dozens of eager servants. He certainly does not envy the American industrialist, however great the latter's wealth may be.

Socialism, whether of Marxian, Fabian, Nazi, or Fascist brand, does not promote equality, but instead creates tremendous inequalities. It gives rise to a new class of political and economic administrators whose powers of economic management are unlimited and absolute. It eliminates the sovereign power of consumers and the agency powers of businessmen. It substitutes omniscient rulers and an omnipotent state for the people's freedom of choice and discretion.

It may be true that the Marxian worker actually strives for the realization of such a society; but contrary to Niebuhr's beliefs, his endeavors certainly benefit neither society nor himself. Blinded and misguided by socialist syllogisms, he promotes a social order that will enslave and impoverish him. Thus he destroys the very order that has freed him from serfdom and starvation.

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A. M. SULLIVAN

The Competitive Spirit

SALMON bred from roe in fisheries have a rough time of it when released in tidal waters. The synthetic environment which eliminates danger also dulls the competitive instinct so necessary for survival in a cannibalistic world. The way of nature is rough and hard, whether it is hound against hare, falcon against dove, midge against elm, or crab grass against Kentucky blue.

Risk is the price of a day's adventure. Complete security is an obvious contradiction in terms, just as 100 per cent insurance against any danger or difficulty is as meaningless as it is unwarranted. Risk is an inherent quality in life, and with risk is the compensating impulse to survival which is competition.

For instance, thousands of business enterprises fail each year, with financial loss to suppliers and personal loss to proprietors. Can commercial insolvency be prevented? Not entirely. Not in a competitive economy. The right to fail is just as inherent in free enterprise as the right to succeed. Commercial failure is part of the normal wear and tear on the machinery of production and distribution. However, risk implies caution, and caution comes with understanding and experience of the hazards of "going to market." Most commercial failures are personal failures caused by a mixture of overconfidence and undertraining for the responsibility.

For more than a century, Dun & Bradstreet has maintained commercial insolvency records, and although the rate of failure fluctuates with good times and bad, the reasons for failure are consistent. Most failures are due to controllable errors in the judgment of men, rather than "acts of God" in

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Mr. Sullivan is Editor of *Dun's Review and Modern Industry* in the March 1960 issue of which this editorial first appeared.

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which man is a victim of accident or circumstance. Innovations in technology, styles, or marketing methods influence the trend of a business, and the real test of management skill and stamina often occurs during such shifts. The loss of capital in commercial failure is less significant than the loss in morale, because dollars are easier to recoup than faith in one's ability as an entrepreneur.

Some enterprises fail, recover confidence as well as capital, and start again. There are thousands of businessmen who have converted the stigma of bankruptcy to a wound stripe, and those who have paid their creditors in full have made it a badge of honor.

There can be no immunity from danger, whether in little, middle, or big business. Many fine textbooks have been written to guide the manager around hazards, but there are no infallible patterns for success, nor cure-alls for errors in judgment. We learn to swim by swimming, and we learn best against the tide.

Mother Nature isn't sentimental about the welfare of her creatures. However, she has an instinct for checks and balances. She increases the speed of the timid, the resistance of the weak, the immunity of the sensitive, and the armor of the sluggish, but she never eliminates individual risk.

The business life is a spirited enterprise, and it offers exciting compensations. But daring must often outweigh caution where decisions must be made. The more we seek shelter, the more we invite mediocrity. There comes a time when we must face realities with the forthright understanding that we are on our own. No fighter ever won a championship punching a bag or shadow-boxing, and no businessman can succeed or survive without exposure to competition.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Limited Government

THE STATE is to abstain from all solicitude for the positive welfare of the citizens, and not to proceed a step further than is necessary for their mutual security and protection against foreign enemies; for with no other object should it impose restrictions on freedom.

WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT

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THE ULTIMATE FOREIGN AID

or—PUTTING MUSCLE IN MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

It was a foggy afternoon
At story-telling time.
Old Kaspar chewed a small cigar
And sipped his rum-and-lime,
While Peterkin and Wilhelmine
Looked at the futurama screen.

They saw a sprawling foreign port,
Where rows of Yankee ships
Were anchored in the harbor pool
Or mooring at the slips;
While packed on piers or viewing stands
Stood multitudes with open hands.

"Now tell us what it's all about!"
Cried little Peterkin.
"It's Mutual Assistance, Pete,"
Said Kaspar with a grin.
"We're sending folks the men and gear
They need to build a New Frontier."

"What sort of gear," asked Wilhelmine,
"Do all those people need?"
"It's painted signs and sandwich boards,
And tracts for them to read.
It's padded socks and feather beds
And bandages for broken heads."

"Now tell us all about the men
We're sending with the gear!"
"They're union bosses," Kaspar said,
"Who raised the wages here.
They'll teach the working men they meet
The art of loafing in the street."

"But can we spare the services
Of every union boss?"
"In many ways," Old Kaspar smiled,
"It's not a total loss.
With foreign workers highly paid
They'll not be needing further aid."

H. P. B. JENKINS
Economist at Fayetteville, Arkansas

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FREDERICK A. MANCHESTER

REPUBLIC and

The subject of the following article was suggested by the editors to Dr. Manchester, an educator formerly of the Department of English, University of Wisconsin. Evidence had accumulated that there exists considerable vagueness, or even confusion, regarding the two terms here examined, and some clarification seemed desirable. We do not become good libertarians merely by acquiring an exact knowledge of key words in economics and politics, but it is obvious that to acquire such knowledge is to take an important step toward the goal.

IT WAS about a year ago that THE FREEMAN forwarded me a letter from a woman whom I had obviously much displeased. My offense was that in the course of an article on the Presidency I had (following, as it happened, an author I was reproducing) referred to our form of government as a "federal and constitutional democracy." America a democracy? The very idea! Where had I been brought up? Well, she didn't put it quite that way, but she came near it, for she said: ". . . I made up my mind this Frederick Manchester must have gone to a foreign school," and continued: "The school I attended taught us that our government is a 'REPUBLIC' and my teacher added, 'don't ever let anyone tell you differently.' Every time that we repeat the Pledge to the Flag

[1] It is a pleasure to acknowledge the friendly and able help I have had in the preparation of this article from Mr. Irwin Stein of the History Department of the Los Angeles Public Library. Final responsibility for the article is of course entirely my own.

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DEMOCRACY

A STUDY IN MEANINGS

we pledge allegiance to the flag and the *Republic* for which it stands. No wonder the children leave school without knowing what to think." She said more; but what I have quoted is perhaps enough to suggest the state of mind to which my words had brought her.

Now I find it refreshing to realize that there still are citizens – one at least beyond question – to whom our political system is so precious that even its name is something to be zealously guarded. Only, I suspect that the lady is not fully aware of what has been going on since those Revolutionary days of which her attitude so much reminds me. A great deal has in fact gone on, and a part of the result, it would seem, is no little uncertainty in many minds as to the correct meaning and relation of the two terms with which her letter is concerned – the terms *democracy* and *republic*.

What follows is an attempt to throw light on these expressions, not indeed to treat them exhaustively, for that would require a book, and the labor and space a book implies, but only to give something of their origin and history and of the more important meanings that have been attached to them, and, especially, when this has been done, to summarize succinctly what appears to be – in the more troublesome particulars – their proper present use.

The Word "Republic"

Since of the two terms *republic* is much the more indefinite and elusive, let us, with exemplary courage, begin with that. Etymology, often useful, is in this instance – *res*, "thing," "affair," "concern," and *publica*, "public" – enigmatic, and tells us little or nothing to our purpose. Rousseau, to be sure, appears to have made something of the two Latin words, but what he made is general and vague, and, linguistically, far from convincing. "I call republic," he says, "any state ruled by laws, whatever the form of administration, for where there is such rule the

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public interest governs, and the public thing has some importance" – literally, "is something."[2] This interpretation is, so far as I know, peculiar to its sponsor. *Res publica* was expanded by a sixteenth century French writer on political science into "administration of the public thing";[3] and if we may take this to mean – what strikes one as much more intelligible – "the agency which administers the public business," or, simply, "the state," we have arrived at an all-inclusive sense of the expression which has been well established in the past and has modern and recent authorization. It was recorded, with no indication of obsoleteness, in Tommaseo's Italian dictionary (1879), in Littré's French dictionary (1889), and in Larousse's French dictionary (1947 or later).

The all-inclusive sense of the expression to designate any kind of government whatever is partly illustrated by James Madison in the following passage from *The Federalist* (Essay XXXVIII). "Holland," he observes, "in which no particle of the supreme authority is derived from the people, has passed almost universally under the denomination of a republic. The same title has been bestowed on Venice, where absolute power over the great body of the people is exercised, in the most absolute manner, by a small body of hereditary nobles. Poland, which is a mixture of aristocracy and of monarchy in their worst forms, has been dignified with the same appellation. The government of England, which has one republican branch only, combined with an hereditary aristocracy and monarchy, has, with equal impropriety, been frequently placed on the list of republics."[4]

The use of *republic* to designate an obvious and acknowledged monarchy, such as England in Madison's time, has probably always been exceptional. Indeed, that it should *not* be so used is one of the restrictions that have been imposed on the word, and the one that has seemed most constant and in practice is probably universal today. It is explicit in the Grimm German dictionary (1893). After recording the original sense of "state," this work observes that in more recent usage *republic* means, exclusively, a polity "at whose summit there stands no monarch – *an dessen spitze kein monarch steht.*" Our South Amer-

[2] Quoted in Littré's French dictionary, article *république*.

[3] Quoted in Larousse's French dictionary, article *république*.

[4] *Republican* in the preceding sentence implies a definition of *republic*. Madison probably means by it: "in which the representative principle obtains."

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ican "sister republics," as we genially call them, have in the past been much subjected to one-man rule (as is Paraguay today), but the one man has never been called king.

The restriction of *republic* to nonmonarchical regimes may very plausibly be related to its original use. In ancient Rome, centuries before Christ, kings were expelled, and there followed, and continued down to the empire, what is known and celebrated as the Roman Republic. From this circumstance might naturally arise, and establish itself, a radical antithesis between *republic* and *monarchy*.[5]

James Madison

Two definite restrictions on the meaning of *republic* – as we shall see presently – were imposed by Madison in *The Federalist*.

"What, then," Madison asks (Essay XXXVIII), "are the distinctive characters of the republican form?" and observes: "Were an answer to this question to be sought, not by recurring to principles, but in the application of the term by political writers, to the constitutions of different States, no satisfactory one would ever be found." Here follows the passage quoted above in which examples are given of varied applications of the word *republic*. "These examples," Madison continues, "which are nearly as dissimilar to each other as to a genuine republic, show the extreme inaccuracy with which the term has been used in political disquisitions."

To charge a verbal use with "extreme inaccuracy" suggests that one has an idea of what is correct. Madison goes on: "If we resort, for a criterion, to the different principles on which different forms of government are established, we may define a republic to be, or at least may bestow that name on, a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior." To get this definition, Madison resorts, he says, "to the different principles on which different forms of government are established" – but just how this resorting enables him to arrive at the definition he formulates, he does not say. He appears to sense that he is treading on logically thin ice, for mid-

[5] When the Roman Republic was succeeded by the empire, the word *republic* was retained. Similarly in France when the First Republic gave way to Napoleon: the "first coins struck in 1801 [1804?] bore on one side 'République française' and on the other 'Napoléon empereur'" (Littré's French dictionary, article *république*).

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sentence he inserts the alternative *or at least may bestow that name on:* in short, he is by no means sure that the definition he is giving has a solid foundation.

I suspect it has not. I at least have come across none. He could hardly have got his definition from Montesquieu, the famed political philosopher whom his collaborator Hamilton calls "that great man" and quotes at considerable length; for Montesquieu understands *republic* to include both *democracy* (government by the body of the people) and *aristocracy* (government by a part of the people). The fact is, I fear, that in this instance Madison did some defining on his own.

Representative Government

In his formula the words "a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people" will perhaps, at least apart from their context, bear some interpretation. What Madison seems to mean is that in a republic the members of the government – legislative, executive, judicial – act as representatives of the people, and are chosen by the people, some directly, some indirectly. In our original Constitution, for example, it was provided that the House of Representatives should be chosen by the people, directly, and the Senate also by the people, but indirectly, through the several state legislatures. The essential point is that in a republic the people act, not collectively, as a single body, but through their elected representatives. This would appear both from the development immediately given the definition, and from an explicit passage in an earlier essay (*The Federalist*, Essay X), in which Madison says that by a republic he means "a government in which the scheme of representation takes place," and gives as one of the points of difference between a democracy and a republic "the delegation of the government in the latter to a small number of citizens elected by the rest."[6]

The restriction of *republic* in the theorizing of *The Federalist* to a state employing the representative principle shows the term in what appears to be its narrowest widely specified compass – and this very possibly for the first time. Johnson's dictionary gives no hint of it. On the other hand, it is the meaning of *republic* recorded in Webster's dictionary of 1806, and appears as the first meaning in

[6] Compare Hamilton (*The Federalist*, Essay LVI): "The elective mode of obtaining rulers is the characteristic policy of republican government." The second of Madison's restrictions (having to do with tenure of officers) appears to be regarded by both Madison and Hamilton as of secondary importance.

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Tommaseo's Italian dictionary (1879), cited above; as the first modern meaning in the great Oxford English Dictionary (1910); as the first meaning in the dictionary of the French Academy (1932), and as the second meaning in Larousse's French dictionary (1947 or later).

American Influence Abroad

That *The Federalist* was at least a factor in narrowing the term derives support from the fact that this remarkable book has been much attended to abroad. Two editions of a French translation appeared in 1792 (the year in which Hamilton and Madison, along with Jeremy Bentham, James Mackintosh, and others, were "granted honorary citizenship by vote of the National Assembly of France"), and a third in 1795; a Portuguese translation appeared in Brazil in 1840; a condensed form of it appeared in a German work published in Bremen in 1864; and in 1868 a Spanish translation was published in the Argentine – after the work had there been frequently appealed to a half-century before in connection with the "struggle between a unitary and federal constitution." Altogether, it does not seem at all improbable that this widespread reading of *The Federalist*, supplemented by the shining example of the great North American nation, gave to the term its most precise modern meaning.[7]

The word *republic* does not occur in our Constitution.[8] How soon the new American state began to be commonly called by the name, I have not learned. I do not find it so called in Washington's First Inaugural, nor in his Farewell Address. Webster does thus refer to it in his reply to Hayne, 1830, and in his Seventh-of-March speech, 1850. Calhoun, who died in 1850, declares in a posthumously

[7] The data on *The Federalist* abroad are from an introduction by Edward Gaylord Bourne to a two-volume edition of the work published by M. Walter Dunne (New York and London, 1901.)

[8] The word *republican* does occur in the Constitution, once, where a republican form of government is guaranteed to the states. According to John Adams (writing to Mercy Warren), nobody knew just what was meant (Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *America in Midpassage* – New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939 – p. 922). James Madison, however, who was a member of the Constitutional Convention (John Adams was not), seems lucid enough on the point. Commenting on the guarantee in question, he says (*The Federalist*, Essay XLII): "In a confederacy founded on republican principles, and composed of republican members, the superintending government ought clearly to possess authority to defend the system against aristocratic or monarchical innovations. The more intimate the nature of such a Union may be, the greater interest have the members in the political institutions of each other, and the greater right to insist that the forms of government under which the compact was entered into should be substantially maintained."

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published discourse that the United States is "of course, a Republic."[9] Lincoln speaks of "sixty-odd of the best years of the Republic" in 1854. The Northern veterans of the Civil War organized themselves as the Grand Army of the Republic. Garfield, dying at the hand of an assassin, wrote of himself, in Latin, "tortured for the republic."[10] Our pledge of allegiance is ultimately a pledge to the republic. However fast or slow the process, it is clear that *republic* became at last enshrined in our history and suffused with patriotic emotion. *Republic,* "honorable title," as Madison called it, appears to be still a constant in our more ceremonious rhetoric. What American orator, rising to the upper strata of his eloquence, would dream of referring to his country as anything but a "republic"? In one matter having to do with its mere denotation the word is unique: that is its absolute use. Charles A. Beard wrote a book and entitled it *The Republic.* No one could have had a moment's doubt what nation he meant. But had he named his work *The Democracy,* the reference, left uninterpreted, would have been a subject for speculation.

The Word "Democracy"

But farewell, for the moment, to *republic* and its fortunes; let us turn to *democracy.*

Although, according to Harold J. Laski, "No definition of democracy can adequately comprise the vast history which the concept connotes,"[11] the word which names it seems simplicity itself when compared with *republic.* That is mainly because, in sharp contrast with *republic,* its basic and enduring significance is unmistakably indicated in the elements of which it is composed: *demos,* "the people," and *kratia,* "rule." *Democracy* means "rule by the people."[12] "People" in this statement is to be understood as

[9] John C. Calhoun, *Works* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1888), I, p. 185.

[10] Walter Fogg, *One Thousand Sayings of History* (Boston, The Beacon Press, Inc., 1929), p. 586.

[11] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* article *democracy.*

[12] Such are the vagaries of language that even the preceding sentence is subject to more or less modification. Larousse's French dictionary (1947 or later) includes in its article on *democracy* the following definition: "Predominance of the power of the people in a government of whatever kind, even monarchic." Littré's French dictionary, cited above, gives as a meaning of *democracy:* "Political regime which favors or pretends to favor the interests of the masses," and quotes the expression "the imperial democracy of Rome." With the latitude afforded by Littré, one might correctly refer to Soviet Russia as a "democracy" — to the confounding of political debate.

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a majority of the whole body of the people, not any minor group or any class. This whole body of the people, however, in the slave-based city states of ancient Greece, the original democracies, was limited in fact to the male freemen, who, it is said, almost never numbered more than 10,000, and in no community constituted a majority of the total inhabitants. These citizens, or as many as got together in a given meeting, exercised immediately, in their own persons, full legislative power.[13] A form of government in which the people (or what passes for the people) thus act directly is known as a direct, absolute, or pure democracy.

Direct democracy, the original democracy, seems to have obtained almost exclusively in the ancient world. Though its principle has been operative in the New England town meeting, and though it is said to exist to some extent in Switzerland, I have come across no modern instance of it in a completely sovereign unit. But democracy in a broader sense, modern democracy, feasible in large states, was destined to come into being and to have an immense career.

Limited Suffrage

At first, in what was ultimately to become the United States, it was, at most, incipient. The suffrage was severely limited. Property qualification "for the right to vote existed everywhere at the time of the Revolution and . . . even higher qualifications were often imposed upon those who would represent their fellows in public office."[14] Formal class distinctions were not yet abandoned. The gentleman was still not merely a male of the species but a very particular kind of male. In Virginia a tailor was fined by a court one hundred pounds of tobacco for arranging a race between his mare and a gentleman's horse, the officially recorded reason being that it was "contrary to law for a laborer to make a race, [that] being a sport only for gentlemen"; and when a Boston minister announced a meeting and called for the attendance of the "gentlemen of the church and congregation," several of the men, realizing that they

[13] But not — as would seem obvious — full executive power. "In the most pure democracies of Greece, many of the executive functions were performed, not by the people themselves, but by officers elected by the people, and representing the people in their executive capacity." — Hamilton in *The Federalist*, Essay LXII.

[14] Leonard Woods Labaree, *Conservatism in Early American History* (Ithaca, New York, Great Seal Books, 1959), p. 1. The two incidents which follow shortly are cited from the same source, pp. 111f.

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were not "gentlemen," did not consider themselves summoned and did not attend. We can hardly be surprised to learn that the term *democrat*, savoring as it did of the unsifted multitude, was in general disrepute. "As a matter of fact, when the Constitution was framed no respectable person called himself or herself a democrat. The very word then had low connotations, though it was sometimes mentioned with detachment; and the connotations became distinctly horrible to Respectability after the outbreak of the reign of terror in France. . . . As was said long afterward, the founders of the republic in general, whether Federalist or Republican, feared democracy more than they feared original sin."[15]

But in time all this was to change. In the latter part of the eighteenth century events began to happen highly favorable to democracy. Equality, said to have been regarded by de Tocqueville as its "inherent principle," became a watchword. First appeared the American Revolution, proclaiming that "all men are created equal," and soon thereafter the French Revolution, celebrating equality (along with liberty and fraternity), and making the word resound throughout the Western world. Equality meant political recognition for the masses, and the trend toward this recognition, once started, has never stopped, but has continued, basically and generally, into our own time, however paradoxical the form it may sometimes take. Open the Russian constitution, and you may read: "In the U.S.S.R. all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. . . . Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies . . . are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot. . . . Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing. . . . Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men. . . . Citizens serving in the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens."[16] The U.S.S.R. is notori-

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[15] Beard, *op. cit.* (footnote 8), 922f. Surprisingly enough, the word *republican* was with many in little or no better standing than *democratical*. Colonial conservatives, in general, "used 'republican' and 'democratical' almost synonymously and considered them as terms of reproach, much as in the social sphere they used the adjective 'leveling' and as most present-day Americans use 'red' and 'Communist.'" — Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[16] *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (New York, The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, [1941]).

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ously a dictatorship, but the idea of equality, the inherent principle of democracy, and the political recognition it calls for, are imbedded in its Fundamental Law.

The Trend Toward Democracy

Our immediate concern is with the change of attitude toward democracy in the United States. Calhoun described our government as a "constitutional democracy."[17] This was of course before the Civil War. "From the close of the civil war to the end of the [first] world war," we are told, "democracy, or 'the American way,' had been loosely, though by no means universally, accepted as a fact . . ."[18] Woodrow Wilson said that the world must be made safe, not for republicanism, but for democracy – and fought to save it. "At last the United States was somewhat officially and generally proclaimed to be in fact a democracy, engaged in a conflict to save democracy from the force of authoritarian States. . . . The word once so hated and feared, so long reprobated, so reluctantly accepted in the United States, became for the hour the sign and symbol of American unity and government . . . Could George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison have witnessed the scene and heard the chorus they certainly would have been surprised to find their representative republic universally and vociferously hailed as a democracy."[19]

According to the authors just cited, the War Department, the conflict over, repudiated the doctrine that the United States was a democracy; but all such opposition as it represented appears to have been largely lost from sight in the era that began not long afterward with the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt – who "solemnly identified the United States with democracy and suggested a second union of all the faithful against the autocracies of the earth," and whose "opponents likewise seized upon democracy as the device under which to wage war at home on the Roosevelt 'dictatorship.'"[20] From the Roosevelt era we can hardly be said even now to have emerged, and if during it or subsequently the vogue of the word *democracy* has given way among us to any general ardor for the word *republic*, the fact has certainly escaped my notice. It would seem safe to assert that it has not done so.

As was indicated earlier, the democracy which developed in the modern world was ordinarily democracy in a broader sense than is attributable to the democracy of

17 Calhoun, *loc. cit.*

18 Beard, *op. cit.* (footnote 8), p. 921.

19 *Ibid.* p. 924.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 924f.

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ancient Greece. In this broader modern sense it is a form of government in which the people rule, but indirectly, not immediately in their own persons, but mediately through persons whom they choose to represent them. This form of government, in contrast with direct democracy, is known variously as indirect or representative democracy.[21]

Exactly when the broader sense of the word *democracy* was first recognized I do not know. Johnson's dictionary does not record it. Webster's dictionary of 1806 does not specify it, defining *democracy* simply as "a popular form of government." In *The Century Dictionary* (1904), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1934), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1955), *The American College Dictionary* (1955), *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (1956), and doubtless in other current dictionaries, it is plainly indicated.

An indirect democracy, it is interesting to observe, admits of distinct gradations as regards the closeness of the relation between the immediate will of the people and the legislation enacted. Where the representatives, once chosen, are left free to exercise their own best wisdom and judgment, the democracy is clearly more indirect than where the representatives are presumed, as far as humanly possible, to reflect the instant opinions of the majority of their constituents. In proportion as the representatives do actually reflect in their legislative activities the immediate desires of this majority (such desires as would find ready voice in an Athenian ecclesia), the government approaches in effect the original direct democracy.

Hitherto we have discussed *republic* and *democracy* successively, and, so far as possible, separately, ignoring their intertwining, merg-

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[21] As to the origin of the principle of representation one meets with differing statements. Madison (*The Federalist*, Essay XIV) says we owe the "great principle" to modern Europe, and Goldwin Smith in an Introduction to an edition of *The Federalist* clearly affirms that "representative government" was "unknown to the ancients." On the other hand, according to the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, article *representation*, the "idea of political representation is as old as the state," and Hamilton (*The Federalist*, Essay LXII), after citing instances of use of the principle in Athens, Carthage (apparently), Sparta, Rome, and Crete, concludes: "From these facts, to which many others might be added, it is clear that the principle of representation was neither unknown to the ancients nor wholly overlooked in their political constitutions." Possibly not all of the above passages are talking about precisely the same thing. Peculiar to America, in comparison with the ancient democracies — according to Hamilton (*The Federalist*, Essay LXII) — are governments founded exclusively on the representative principle: governments, that is, in which the people never act "in their collective capacity," but always through chosen agents.

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ing, and overlapping. These we must now examine.

The direct democracies of ancient Greece (and this scarcely makes for simplicity) are sometimes called *republics*. They are sometimes so called in *The Federalist* – in obvious contradiction of the Madisonian definition of *republic*, in the same work, with which we are acquainted. *Republic* is sometimes seen as the genus, *democracy* as the species. We have already met with this relationship in Montesquieu; John Adams, at a date earlier than that of the Constitutional Convention, classified republics as democratic, aristocratic, and monarchical or regal;[22] and the dictionary of the French Academy illustrates its article *democracy* with the sentence: "The republic of Athens was a democracy." The relationship in question is present in "democratic republic," a phrase recorded in the French dictionary just cited and recently employed by East Germany as the name of its polity. (What I have yet to see is "republican democracy"– though I should not be exactly astonished if I came across it tomorrow.) In the following figurative passage by John James Ingalls *democracy* and *republic* are identified (or virtually so) by inference: "In the democracy of the dead, all men at last are equal. There is neither rank nor station nor prerogative in the republic of the grave."[23] More than a century ago Calhoun, in a passage already cited in part, identified a republic with a species of democracy: the United States is of course, he said, "a Republic, a constitutional democracy, in contradistinction to an absolute democracy..."[24] *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (1956), recording present usage, defined the two words separately thus:

> *republic:* A state in which the sovereign power resides in a certain body of the people (the *electorate*), and is exercised by representatives elected by, and responsible to, them . . .
>
> *democracy:* Government by the people; government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised

[22] *Works* (Boston, Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1851), Vol. IV, pp. VI, VII.

[23] Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (Boston, 1948), p. 602.

[24] Calhoun goes on: "and...the theory which regards it as a government of the mere numerical majority rests on a gross and groundless misconception." The word *constitutional* prefixed to *democracy* means of course, in itself, very little – only that the democracy referred to has a constitution. Theoretically, any form of government whatever might have that. What the word is clearly meant to imply in Calhoun's phrase, however, is regulation, limitation, restriction.

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> either directly (absolute, or pure, democracy), or indirectly (representative democracy) through a system of representation.

Here the words are not identified, but their overlapping is plain. Curiously enough, the lexicographer in defining *republic*, and perhaps wishing, with the wide modern world in view, to give a measure of inclusiveness to the word, here runs some risk of making it inapplicable to the United States. Note the expression "A state in which the sovereign power resides in a certain body of the people (the *electorate*)" – that, I suggest, is hardly the manner in which to speak of a polity such as our own, in which there is universal suffrage. On the other hand, we have no trouble whatever in recognizing ourselves in portions of the definition given of *democracy*.[25]

Secondary meanings of our two terms and the meanings of terms related to them – neither yet discussed – may here be generally ignored as either obvious (for example, *democratic* in "democratic institutions"), obsolete, or obsolescent. Brief comment may be in order, however, on one distinct, nonpolitical sense attaching to *democracy* and its derivatives *democrat* and *democratic*.

A Social Meaning

Since in a political democracy the people have equal rights and privileges, it was natural that the concept of equality should carry over into nonpolitical areas with the meaning of freedom from snobbishness or pretension. "What we noticed about the club, instantly, was its agreeable democracy." It is perhaps in the derivatives *democrat* and *democratic* that this sense is oftenest encountered. "Surprisingly enough, he proved himself the perfect democrat, despite his birth and wealth"; "It was her easy democratic ways that won the affection of her subjects"; "He was simple, affable, informal, democratic: they took to him from the start."

A social meaning of *democratic* of a much broader sort is evident

[25] The latest edition of *Petit Larousse* contains a definition of *republic* curious enough perhaps to warrant recording. *Republic* means, we are told, "Form of a state whose head bears the denomination of president and is elected, for a time determined in advance, whether directly by the people, or by its representatives." The definition has the merit of reviving, in part, Madison's second restriction (having to do with tenure of officers), and of noting what is at least the usual title accorded the heads of republics; but it seems seriously incomplete. It says nothing as to where the sovereignty resides, and would permit a state to be called a *republic* even though its "president," once chosen in one of the ways prescribed, exercised the powers of an absolute monarch.

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in such expressions as "democratic art (fiction, poetry, painting, etc.)" – art, that is, which represents, reflects, or is suited to democracy, where *democracy* means the common people in a nonpolitical aspect.

With this last detail we may end our semantic adventure. What inferences of chief practical importance can we now make regarding the proper present use of the terms under examination? Let us begin with *republic:*

Republic. (1) In application to the United States: Entirely correct, and especially appropriate for oratorical or otherwise elevated purposes. It has a traditional, conservative, pleasantly aristocratic, and generally rather distinguished connotation. (2) In application to any and all other countries which call themselves by the name: Entirely correct. It must be remembered that the word has been applied to states regardless of their form of government – and that this application, quite recently (*Larousse,* 1947 or later), has been unqualifiedly recorded.

Democracy (political). (1) In application to the United States: Entirely correct, and doubtless increasingly common; probably destined to edge *republic* more and more out of use – particularly since *republic* has no relevancy to the present ideological division of the world. (2) In application to other countries: Entirely correct when referring to polities in which the great body of the people exercise sovereign power, whether directly or indirectly; incorrect, and misleading, when applied to dictatorships, however much they may exploit the term. When a state has the words and forms of democracy, but not the substance, let us make the name correspond with the thing (as Confucius would suggest) and call it what it is, a simulacrum and a sham – in short, a *pseudodemocracy.*

Democracy, democrat, democratic (social). *Democracy:* freedom from snobbishness. *Democrat:* one who is free from snobbishness. *Democratic:* (1) of persons – free from snobbishness; (2) of things – concerned with expressing, appealing to, the masses of the people.

The Latest Tally

I will close with an item of journalistic fact. In its issue of February 22, 1960, the *U.S. News & World Report* displayed an outline map of the world showing "the line-up now" of "democracies vs. dictatorships," and roughly indicating the actual nature of the government, regardless of its nominal classification, in each of the nations of the globe. The types distinguished were democracies (freely elected governments), limited de-

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mocracies (prodemocratic, but partial dictatorships now), and colonies and dependencies. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan stand among the democracies; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Communist China, and the Dominican Republic among the dictatorships. What in all this would be likely to strike the reader of the present study is that one word – no doubt because of its uselessness as an identifying term – is, except as part of a country's official name, conspicuously and completely absent. That word is *republic*. Henceforward, indefinitely, the question likely to be of paramount interest, as regards any state, anywhere, is simply this: To what extent do its people really govern? or, in other words, To what extent is it, in the proper sense of the term, a democracy?

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Memory of Man Runneth Not to the Contrary

THERE ARE PERSONS who constantly clamor. They complain of oppression, speculation, and pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations and all means by which small capitalists become united in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke the fountain of industry and dry all streams. In a country of unbounded liberty, they clamor against oppression. In a country of perfect equality, they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where property is more evenly divided than anywhere else, they rend the air shouting agrarian doctrines. In a country where wages of labor are high beyond parallel, they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in the Senate in 1833

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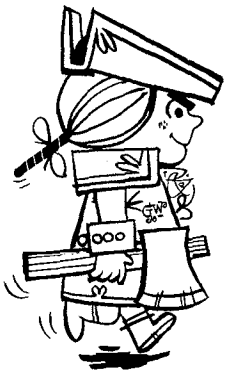

Who's to Blame?

B. A. ROGGE

IN SOME 63.7 per cent of all interviews in my office, the person across the desk is there to tell me who's to blame. And in 99.6 per cent of the cases where that is the question, the answer is the same: *He* isn't.

Now if these were just simple cases of prevarication, we could all shake our heads at the loss of the old Yes-Father-I-chopped-down-the-cherry-tree spirit and turn to some other problem, such as the danger presented to the stability of the earth by the build-up of snow on the polar icecaps. But the denial of responsibility is rarely that simple, and herein lies the story.

Today's George Washington, on the campus and elsewhere, says, "Yes, I chopped down the cherry tree, *but* – " and then comes 10 to 90 minutes of explanation, which is apparently supposed to end in my breaking into tears and forgiving all, after which he goes home to sharpen his little hatchet.

The little Georges of today say, "Yes, I chopped down the cherry tree, but let me give you the *whole* story. All the guys over at the house were telling me that it's a tradition around here to cut down cherry trees. What's that? Did any of *them* ever actually cut down any cherry trees? Well, I don't know, but anyway there's this tradition, see, and with all this lack of school spirit, I figured I was really doing the school a favor when I cut down that crummy old tree." [*Lights up, center stage, where our hero is receiving a medal from the president of the Student Council as the band plays the school song.*]

Or it may run like this: "Now this professor, see, told us to collect some forest specimens; he may have told us what trees to cut, but, frankly, I just can't understand half of what he says, and

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This article is from a chapel talk delivered by Dr. Rogge at Wabash College where he serves as Dean.

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I honestly thought he said cherry tree. Now actually I wasn't in class the day he gave the assignment and this friend of mine took it down and I can't help it if he made a mistake, can I? Anyway, if the callboy had awakened me on time, I'd have made the class and would have known he said to get leaves from a whortleberry bush."

Society on Trial

So far we have run through the simpler cases. Now let's move to more complex ones. In this one, little George says to his father, "Yes, Dad, I cut down the cherry tree, but I just couldn't help it. You and mother are always away from home and when you are home all you do is tell me to get out of the house, to go practice throwing a dollar across the Rappahannock. I guess I cut down the tree to get you to pay a little attention to me, and you can't blame me for that, can you?" [*Lights up, center stage, revealing the kindly old judge admonishing the parents to show more love and affection to little George, who is seated right, quietly hacking away at the jury box.*]

These can get messy. Here's another. In this one, young George has hired himself a slick city lawyer who has read all the recent books on the sociology of crime. The lawyer pleads G.W.'s case as follows: "It is true that this young man cut down the tree, marked exhibit A and lying there on the first ten rows of the courtroom seats. Also, there can be no question but that he did it willfully and maliciously, nor can it be denied that he has leveled over half the cherry trees in Northern Virginia in exactly the same way. But is this boy to blame? Can he be held responsible for his actions? No. The real crime is his society's, and not his. He is the product of his environment, the victim of a social system which breeds crime in every form. Born in poverty, [here we leave the George Washington example] raised in the slums, abused by his parents," and on and on. The lawyer closes by pointing a finger at me and saying dramatically, "You, Dean Rogge, as a member of the society which has produced this young monster are as much to blame as he, as much deserving of punishment as he." The boy gets off with a six-month suspended sentence and I am ridden out of town on a rail.

I do want to refer to just one other possibility. In this one, the lawyer calls as a witness an eminent psychoanalyst who, as a result of his examination of the young man, absolves him of all conscious responsibility for the

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crime, in testimony that is filled with the jargon of that semi-science, hence obscure, hence somewhat pornographic. It turns out that the cherry tree is a phallic symbol and the boy's action an unconscious and perverse response to the universal castration complex.

Farfetched? Not at all. As Richard LaPiere writes in his book, *The Freudian Ethic:*

> The Freudian doctrine of man is neither clear nor simple, but those Freudians who have turned their attention to the criminal have derived from it a theory of the criminal act and a prescription for social treatment that anyone can understand. It is, they hold, perfectly natural for human beings to violate the law – every law, from the law that governs the speed of motor vehicles to that which prohibits taking the life of another human being. For, according to Freud, man is born a criminal–an antisocial being. Society, with which the individual is in all respects at odds, teaches the individual to repress his criminal drives and to conform to non-natural standards of conduct. The criminal is simply one who was not fully trained to this repression or who, so trained, has been provoked by society into breaking the bonds of repression. In either event, the criminal act is compulsive; it is neither willed nor calculated. The professional thief does not steal in order to make a comfortable living in the easiest way that he knows how; he is driven to rob homes, roll drunks, break into bank vaults, or do whatever his specialty is as a thief, by an unconscious drive. In sum, the thief has no moral or intellectual awareness of the fact that he is stealing for a livelihood.
>
> The Freudian explanation of crime absolves the individual from all personal responsibility for the criminal act and places the blame squarely upon the shoulders of an abstraction – society. Modern society is especially hard upon the individual, since it imposes upon him so many and often contradictory restraints and at the same time demands of him so much that does not come naturally to him. His criminal acts are therefore but a symptom of the underlying pathology of society, and it is as futile to punish him for the sins of society as to attempt to cure acne by medicating the symptomatic pustules.

Responsibility Is Personal

Where does all this leave us? Who's to blame? Well, nobody, or rather everybody. The Freudian Ethic has eliminated sin (and, of course, that means that it has eliminated virtue as well).

Personally, I can't buy it. I cannot accept a view of man which makes him a helpless pawn of either his id or his society. I do not deny that the mind of each of us is a dark and complex chamber, nor that the individual is bent by his environment, nor even the potentially baneful influence of

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parents. As a matter of fact, after a few months in the Dean's Office, I was ready to recommend to the college that henceforth it admit only orphans. But as a stubborn act of faith I insist that precisely what makes man man is his potential ability to conquer both himself and his environment. If this capacity is indeed given to or possessed by each of us, then it follows that we are inevitably and terribly and forever responsible for everything that we do. The answer to the question, "Who's to blame?" is always, "Mea Culpa, I am."

This is a tough philosophy. The Christian can take hope in the thought that though his sins can never be excused, he may still come under the grace of God, sinner though he be. The non-Christian has to find some other source of strength, and believe me this is not easy to do.

What does all this have to do with our day-to-day living, whether on, or beyond the campus? Actually, it has everything to do with it. It means that as students we stop blaming our teachers, our classmates, our parents, our high schools, our society, and even the callboy for our own mistakes and shortcomings. It means that as teachers and college administrators we stop blaming our students, the board of trustees, the oppressive spirit of society, (and even our wives) for our own failures.

As individuals it means that we stop making excuses to ourselves, that we carry each cherry tree we cut down on our consciences forever. It means that we say with Cassius, "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves." This is a tough philosophy, but it is also the only hopeful one man has yet devised.

Reprints of this article are available at 2¢ each.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Honesty

DIVINE Providence has granted this gift to man, that those things which are honest are also the most advantageous.

QUINTILIAN, *Institutio Oratoria*

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A. Devaney, Inc.

It Isn't Insurance

False advertising of a Social Security fundamental

MORLEY CASSIDY

THE FEDERAL TRADE Commission has been very active lately in prosecuting manufacturers who call their products by the wrong name, or make unwarranted claims about what they will do.

More power to it. But who is going to make Senators and Congressmen and bureaucrats live up to similar standards of plain honesty?

Specifically, who is going to make them stop talking about the various Social Security programs as "insurance" programs, and speaking of the contributors' "rights" to the promised benefits?

The question promises to become a lively one when Congress meets again and takes up anew the question of making health-care for the aged a part of the Social Security system (with a corresponding increase in the nick taken from everyone's take-home pay).

Dignified "Right"

Over and over, in the rump session just ended, the word "insurance" kept cropping up in the speeches of Senators urging that health-care be put into the Social Security system. They insisted hotly that the aged should get health-care benefits as "a right." They should be able to receive them "with dignity," because "they had paid for them."

This is noble language. Unfortunately, it falls under the head of grossly deceptive language, of

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a kind that would bring the FTC pouncing down on a manufacturer.

It is charitable to suppose that the Senators and Congressmen who use such language are themselves deceived about the true nature of the Social Security program. It has been spoken of as "insurance" almost from its inception. The word appears in the name of the Old Age and Survivors' Insurance program.

Social Security Taxes Are Not Insurance Premiums

But it is not insurance. It carries no "rights" to anything except what Congress, from time to time, may grant as a gift. The contributions to it, deducted from pay, are not "insurance premiums," but a tax, pure and simple.

Who says so? The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare says so. The Solicitor General of the United States says so. Finally, the Supreme Court says so.

In a little noted decision last June 20 the Supreme Court ruled finally on a question which has irked many real insurance men for a quarter-century.

The case was that of Nestor *v.* Flemming. Ephram Nestor, a Bulgaria-born industrial worker in Los Angeles, was deported in July 1956 to his homeland, as a Communist. He had been a Social Security contributor since 1939 and was drawing old-age benefits when deported.

He drew two monthly checks after his deportation and wanted his benefits restored on the grounds that he "had paid for them."

His theory was that on which most discussion of Social Security is based: that he had been paying money into Social Security which would be held for him and, in his old age, given back with interest.

He was wrong, and the brief of the U. S. Solicitor-General, on appeal to the Supreme Court, leaves no excuse for any Senator, Congressman, or bureaucrat ever again to speak so loosely about their product.

"The old-age monthly benefits program which Title II of the Social Security Act establishes is not a federally-administered 'insurance' program," Secretary Flemming declared in this brief.

No Annuity

"The contribution exacted under the Social Security plan," he went on, "is a true tax. It is not comparable to a premium promising the payment of an annuity commencing at a designated age."

The Solicitor-General presented this version to the Supreme Court to explain why Nestor had no "right" to any benefits, and went on to say:

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"The 'Trust Fund' from which OASI benefits are paid is maintained by annual appropriations made by Congress. . . . Unlike private insurance companies, which essentially require reserves equal to the present value of all benefits, the Social Security program needs no such reserves, since it is assured of continuing participation through the exaction of taxes. . . . The beneficiary or prospective beneficiary acquires no interest in the fund itself."

Insurance companies, of course, are required by law to charge premiums ample to cover the benefits promised, and give a binding contract with firmly established rights. Many people in the insurance field who deal directly with the public and know firsthand how the public interprets Social Security language have long been vexed by the loose use of insurance terminology. Some highly-regarded actuaries, too, are horrified by the pretense that Social Security contributions are scientifically calculated, as with genuine insurance, to cover the promised benefits.

Albert C. Adams of Philadelphia, past president of the National Association of Life Underwriters and chairman since 1952 of the Association's Social Security committee, has long been a leader in the fight to insist that the government stop the improper use of language in referring to the Social Security program, and expects to redouble his efforts in the light of the Supreme Court's clear decision.

"In the business community," he says, "truth in advertising is enforced to permit the public fairly to make up its collective mind as to the wisdom of patronizing the advertiser.

"In governmental matters, truth in advertising will like-wise permit the public fairly to make up its mind as to the wisdom of retaining or expanding, or restricting, existing legislation. It is as patently unfair for a governmental agency to expand on the basis of false and misleading advertising as it is for a business competitor to expand on the same sort of misrepresentations."

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Calvin Coolidge

THE PEOPLE have to bear their own responsibilities. There is no method by which that burden can be shifted to the government.

July 4, 1926

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A NEW ORDER OF THE AGES

Bettmann Archive

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

THE ISSUES confronting our country would be better understood if we really knew what our Fathers meant when they called the American system "A New Order of the Ages." We would also know better whether it is worth the effort to preserve it.

On June 20, 1782, the Continental Congress, after considering different designs, adopted the Great Seal of the United States. It is portrayed on the back of the one dollar bill. If you have children or grandchildren, you can do something for our Republic by urging them to study the Great Seal and to understand its meaning. There is no patriotic symbol that has deeper meaning.

The Seal has two sides. The obverse shows the familiar eagle in whose claws are the arrows of war and the olive branch of peace. Over the eagle are the words, *E Pluribus Unum* – "from many, one." This side describes the physical structure of our government.

The reverse side of the Seal portrays the spiritual character of our Republic, and this is what most needs attention today.

It shows a pyramid of thirteen layers of stone. But it is an unfinished pyramid to indicate that every generation of Americans have work to do to build it higher, stronger, and still more perfect. It is scarcely necessary to note that the pyramid rests on its broad base, representing popular government, and is not inverted to balance on the precarious apex of one-man rule.

Mr. Pettengill is a former Congressman from Indiana.

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Above the pyramid is the all-seeing eye of Divine Providence surrounded by a glory. Surmounting it are the Latin words *Annuit Coeptis* meaning "He has blessed our undertakings." At the base of the pyramid are the Roman numerals for "1776," and at the bottom of the Seal are the words *Novus Ordo Seclorum* – "a New Order of the Ages."

This seal was adopted only eight months after the surrender of Cornwallis, five months before the Treaty of Peace with England, and at the beginning of the seven "critical years" before the Constitution was adopted, a period when the lion-hearted Washington was in almost greater despair than during the worst years of the war.

Were the words "A New Order of the Ages" an expression of hope, or an act of faith? It was the latter. These men had faith. They truly believed that Divine Providence had blessed their undertakings.

But why did they call their young government a "new order of the ages"? Because it was a new order. It had long been struggled for, but as *a going concern,* it was something new in all the ages that had gone before.

In what respects was it new? Let us trace back to far beginnings the spiritual character of this young government.

Render unto Caesar

I take you back nineteen centuries and more when some men were talking to each other near the shore of Galilee. A question was asked and an answer given: "Render unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's, and unto God, the things that be God's." When these words were spoken, those who heard them "could not take hold upon His words, and they marveled at His answer, and held their peace."

Why could they not take hold upon His words, and why did they marvel at His answer? First, because they could find no treason in these words, and second, because they must have sensed in its deep implications that here was the greatest challenge to totalitarian power that had ever been let loose upon this planet. No wonder that they marveled. It was a strange and marvelous doctrine.

They were told that there was a land and jurisdiction in which the power of government could be rightfully asserted, but beyond that land there was another land belonging to God and His creature, Man, where Caesar should not tread. Christ said that a fence shall stand between these two lands.

These words gave birth to the idea of freedom, but for long centuries, it was hungered for in vain.

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Like the eternal struggle between sea and shore, some vestige of freedom was sometimes won for a short period. It had the appearance of freedom, but it was not a matter of right, but of a monarch's grace, to be enjoyed for a brief space and then submerged by the ceaseless tides of arbitrary power. These tides are sweeping in today.

For men of our race, the first great breach in Caesar's prison wall was made by the Barons of Runnymede 745 years ago.

The Great Charter then signed and sealed by King John dealt with many matters that were important only as long as feudalism endured. But it is to the eternal credit of the barons that they erected barriers against arbitrary power, not for themselves alone, but for the rank below them, the "free men."

It is here that the Charter stated principles of universal application, and as such, laid the foundation of government by law, and not by men.

"No free man," the King was made to say, "shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized or outlawed or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

These words, in all English speaking countries, are the foundation of limited government, trial by jury, habeas corpus, and many other safeguards of free men – the end of Star Chamber, *ex post facto* crimes, bills of attainder, prison without trial, and confessions by torture.

The Rights of Man

Magna Charta began a struggle of seven centuries that is still going on. King John himself and other kings and parliaments and courts have time and again tried to tear Magna Charta down, and have often succeeded.

But Runnymede was followed by the Petition of Right of 1628, Ship's Money, Naseby, the head of Charles I, and the Bill of Rights of 1689 – by men of the stature of Hampden, Milton, Hooker, Vane, Sidney, Coke, Locke, Pym, and Selden, of whom one was killed in battle, two executed, and four put in the Tower of London. Because they were *MEN*, the Rights of Man came marching on.

As Kipling wrote:

All we have of freedom, all we use or know –
This our fathers bought for us long and long ago.
Ancient Right unnoticed as the breath we draw –
Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the Law –
Lance and torch and tumult, steel and grey-goose wing,
Wrenched it, inch and ell and all, slowly from the King.

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The chief judge at the trial of Charles I said, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." These words were also suggested for the Great Seal of the United States.

It was hard for King and court and courtiers and courtesans to give up their claim that all things should be rendered unto Caesar. Kings claimed they were above the law; that "the monarch *is* the law." But finally my Lord Chief Justice Coke stood before King James, whose fist was clenched to strike him, and said, "The King is under God *and the law*," – words that were heard across the Atlantic and will reverberate as long as men take pride in manhood.

A Design for Freedom with Trust in God

Then in the course of human events came Lexington on April 19, 1775, Concord Bridge, "the shot heard 'round the world" and the noble words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," – rights that existed ages before there was any such thing as a state or government, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; rights which neither King nor commissar can lawfully take away; rights which men cannot rightfully vote away, because they hold them in sacred trust "for the ages."

It is plain that the words of Christ came alive again in Jefferson's deathless paragraphs. Some of the Colonial flags had the words "An Appeal to God" or "An Appeal to Heaven" over the picture of a rattlesnake saying, "Don't tread on me!"

Two years later, the Articles of Confederation were drawn up because "It hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent . . . to approve of . . . the said articles of confederation and perpetual union."

Then came the Constitution holding once more that the power to govern comes from the governed – "We, the people" – not their governors. The divine sanction appears in the Constitution in the requirement that the President must take an oath before High Heaven itself, to defend the Rights of Man. As is well known, the words "In God We Trust" have been used on some of our coins since 1864, and by Act of Congress in 1955 will now appear on all coins and United States paper currency.

Although the Constitution does not mention God by name, the Supreme Court of the United States has said that the Constitution is

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the letter and the page of which the Declaration of Independence is the spirit and the soul.

Still later came the Pledge of Allegiance, amended by Congress five years ago to include the words "under God," showing, as President Eisenhower said, that "In this way we are reaffirming the transcendence of religious faith in America's heritage and future; in this way we shall constantly strengthen those spiritual weapons which forever will be our country's most powerful resource in peace and war."

In short, as Lord Byron wrote in "The Prisoner of Chillon," men "appeal from tyranny to God."

A great American once asked, "Is life so dear, is peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!" Over and over, you see that the foundations of our Republic were laid on the Rock of Ages!

The Majority Restrained

I will return to Patrick Henry's question, but let me add something more about *Novus Ordo Seclorum*. It was a new order for the ages for many reasons. I will mention only a few. It was new because it was the first time, in modern history at least, that a people deliberately debated and constructed the kind of government under which they wished to live. No Man on Horseback "waded through slaughter to a throne." Washington refused to be King.

This new order denied the divine right of kings. It also denied absolute power to its parliament (Congress), such as had been reestablished in England only fifteen years before the Great Seal was adopted. It denied absolutism to any court such as Star Chamber.

But more important, and differing from other charters, including Magna Charta itself, which limited the power of kings and princes, our charter put limits on the power of the people themselves! It denied the divine right of mobs as well as of kings. It denied the "general will" of Rousseau. It required more than a majority vote on the most important matters.

It was designed "not to make America safe for democracy, but to make democracy safe for America." For, as Jefferson said, the concentrating of all powers in the same hands is the definition of despotism, whether exercised by many voices, or by one.

This willingly self-imposed restraint by the people on the sovereign power of the people themselves is utterly new in history. The majority cannot override the rights of a minority or of a single individual safeguarded by the Constitution. Even the whole peo-

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ple are restrained, because they cannot alter the Constitution except in the deliberate manner therein set forth, in which the minority have the right to be heard and to oppose.

And because the sovereign power belongs to the people of fifty states, as well as the United States, it is inconceivable that any majority of the people *who are not asleep* will ever vest total power in a single unitary State, as in France, or a presidium as in Russia, or a Castro as in Cuba.

While the Constitution can be amended, and while a mad people could vote themselves into despotism, one thing is sure: — our Fathers never contemplated any changes that would fundamentally alter the character of our Republic.

They had posterity in mind. They had *us* in mind. They hoped that for all time Americans would insist that the individual has rights and dignities that are beyond the power of princes or the might of majorities.

Great Events of History

If I were teaching American history to boys and girls, I would ask them to study the great seals of our country and of all the states. They would see a single golden thread running through them all — the Rights of Man under God.

History should be a vital, gripping thing to our boys and girls. I object to history books that "squeeze out the dying words of Nathan Hale to make room" for social studies that teach dependence on the State and the immoral doctrine that men have the *legal right* to live on the sweat of other people's brows. I object to classrooms that see no more of the flag than they do of the Crucifix or Star of David. I object to courthouses and city halls that do not fly the flag of their own state along with Old Glory.

In addition to mathematics and physics, we need more American history, honestly written, more British history, and the history of freedom everywhere. How can we see far into our future unless we stand on the shoulders of the giants of the past?

We need the acquaintance of heroes and the inspiration that comes from marching in their footsteps. For in the last pinch, when the chips are down, military hardware costing billions is useless matter without the intrepid spirit of man. John Paul Jones taught us that. How can we expect our youth to emulate heroism when we remove our heroes from the printed page?

As the great Edmund Burke, friend of the American Revolution, wrote of the ragged Continentals: "It is the love of the

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people, their attachment to their government from a sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and navy, and without which your army would be a base rabble and your navy nothing but rotting timbers."

A World-Wide Anthill

We have heard the tread of the returning Caesars. There was fascism in Italy and Germany, in which man, like a two-legged ant, was merely a cell in the greater organism of the State which alone was said to have supreme meaning. As Mussolini shouted: "Nothing outside the State, nothing against the State, everything for the State."

What threatens today is a world-wide human anthill.

But bad as fascism and Nazism were, and although both attempted to put the Church in their service, neither denied the existence of God, nor the people's right to worship their Creator.

It is one of the great ironies of history, due either to the accidents of war or the follies of statesmen, that having unhorsed Hitler, we helped lift Stalin into his saddle and fed his horse!

For here is the deadliest foe civilization has ever faced. The cruelest tyrants of previous ages claimed total power over their people, but all of them, to my knowledge, recognized that there were gods over them who must be appeased and sometimes obeyed. Even Nero and Caligula did that.

The communist tyrant, however, denies the existence of any God. To him, there is no such thing as Right and Wrong, Truth, Honor, or Faith. No treaty is binding. Nothing is immoral which feeds the power of the State. He considers man as nothing but a biological accident, a protoplasmic sport that somehow distinguishes his physical appearance from that of the cockroach or hyena. This tyrant's creed is the nihilism of the soul.

American Defections

Along with the growth of this vile creature's power, we have grown soft, fat, and flabby within. The covetousness of Karl Marx has infected us. And the morbid doctrine of Sigmund Freud that man is the helpless slave of his "id," and therefore not responsible to anyone for anything, is making us lazy, undisciplined, and unprincipled. This is evidenced by the rapid rise of divorce, crime, and juvenile delinquency. Many people pity the murderer and rapist more than his victim.

Our elections have become auctions of the public treasure and millions of parasites use the vote

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to reap where they have not sown. The breeding of illegitimate children is becoming a profession and we are turning sturdy Uncle Sam into a male nurse.

We take struggle and discipline out of our children's lives, in home and school, and then wonder at the treasonable conduct of many American prisoners of war in Korea.

The list of our troubles seems endless. Khrushchev says, "The United States is living the last years of its greatness." Some of my friends think we have passed the point of no return. They have tossed in the sponge.

A Hopeful Sign

I do not agree. They have not read history. Regenerative forces are always at work in any society although outmatched, for a time, by the forces of decay. There is always a saving remnant at work, as the Old Testament says. May we be part of it! Periods of vice and corruption are followed by the return of strength and honor. Communism, as the equal sharing of goods, has already been abandoned in Russia, and the German socialist party only this year turned the pictures of Marx and Engels to the wall. I do not believe the Russian slave state will endure for the ages.

In our own country we still have our schools, churches, libraries, and the Boy Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the YM and YWCA's, the Catholic Youth groups, the 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, Junior Achievement, Little League Baseball, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, and scores of similar organizations building men and women. Even the honor student as well as the athlete is beginning to get recognition from his fellows!

Nevertheless, no great political leader since Theodore Roosevelt has said: "I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life." T. R. appealed to the strong side of men and women, not to their softness, laziness, envy, and self-pity. It has been said that one generation of luxury and licentiousness can capture a fortress that withstood centuries of hardship and struggle. Only from struggle comes strength.

We no more know the solutions to all the problems we face than we know what a little child will face in life. But we need not despair for him. We can do for him, or her, the one thing without which all remedies are valueless, and with which all problems grow small. We can build him strong and straight—physically, mentally, and spiritually. In doing this, we will strengthen ourselves. ◆

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HOW TO *Live* WITH YOUR JOB

Self-imposed fears, superstitions, and strains threaten one's freedom as much as do outside forces of oppression and aggression.

GERALD GORDON, M.D.

THE TITLE of this paper carries the clear implication that living with one's job is hazardous. Perhaps a more pertinent corollary would be how to live without your job.

While I have a few thoughts on living with one's job, I have no idea how one could live without a job, nor am I sure it would be a kindness to divulge the secret even if I knew.

Yet I am aware of a widespread conviction that work, particularly the work of the executive, is thought of as some kind of an unnatural and harmful activity. Apparently one may expend unlimited physical or mental energy in a hobby without fear, while the same energy expended in useful or productive effort is considered a harmful stress.

Work is treated as though it were an imposition upon mankind rather than as a major source of happiness and gratification.

It is not a new notion. After the fall in the Garden of Eden, Adam is told that "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Yet even before his fall, Adam was put "into the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it." Apparently it is in the nature of things that man should work for his daily bread. We cannot even blame Eve for this state of affairs.

In recent years the businessman, particularly those in higher echelons, has been admonished that the pace of his life is killing him. He is threatened by such scare statements as "your next promotion

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Doctor Gordon is Chief Psychiatrist of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company. This article was delivered as a speech before the Forty-first International Conference of the National Office Management Association in Montreal, May 25, 1960.

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may be your last." Others encourage him to be proud of his ulcer, to wear it as sort of a businessman's "purple heart," as though it were a sign of virtue, of devotion to a cause beyond the call of duty. Gratuitous advice tells him to slow down, take it easy, take longer vacations, don't work so hard.

Many businessmen are frightened by all this advice and find themselves in a neat trap.

Most successful men achieved their positions by virtue of hard work and aggressiveness. They have had almost boundless energy to expend and found great satisfaction in the struggle. What is he to do now? Give up? One doesn't run a successful enterprise from a cruise ship or the golf course. The poor misguided wretch who happens to enjoy work is in an even worse fix for, by implication, to continue is suicide.

He is beset by social and economic pressures which seem to degrade successful accomplishment and make him appear almost a sinner. All sorts of measures and negative incentives are set up to remove temptation and make certain that the sin of success, if not actually punished, is certainly not to be rewarded.

In view of these circumstances, it might be useful to re-evaluate some of these conclusions in view of available data.

Our Lengthened Life Span

The last half century has seen an increasing extension in man's life span from 48 years in 1900 until it is something over 70 plus today. This extension has taken place during the most productive era this nation has known.

Rules of hygiene and nutrition have been learned and implemented; man can manipulate his environment for greater comfort, security, and safety than could his forefathers, in even one generation past. By accepted concepts, the wear and tear on his body should have become less as he learned to protect himself.

The businessman, having no special claim to immortality, also succumbs eventually just as everyone else. Coincidental with the increased span of life, there has been a change in the nature of conditions causing his inevitable departure. The infectious diseases have been replaced by what are called stress diseases or degenerative diseases and cancer. Accidents have moved up in relation to other causes. Even children's hospitals report accidents create more admissions than infectious diseases. Obviously, something has changed, but 50 years is too short a span for any evolutionary change to have taken place in man himself.

Yet these stress diseases are real and have become today's kill-

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ers. When a noted figure has a heart attack, it is front page news, but aside from the associates, little is known of hundreds of other victims who are stricken on the same day.

Studies in our company comparing the occurrence of stress diseases in the executive group with the occurrence of the same disease entities in the general company population, show almost exactly the same rate of incidence.

Other medical authorities have made similar studies and find the executive has no different pattern of disease than the general public.

Survival Mechanisms of the Body

To understand the nature of stress disease, it might be well to discuss some of the body's basic adaptation and survival mechanisms.

The body and mind are completely integrated in the sense that the body supplies the brain and nervous system with nourishment and the brain and nervous system in turn interpret the needs of the body for survival, implementing coordinated activities to provide for them. The entire biological process is based on a process known as homeostasis. Homeostasis is the maintenance of a fairly constant and healthy state within as the body moves about in an ever-changing external environment filled with threats and hazards to existence. The body becomes aware of its needs through the nervous system.

Survival is made possible by adaptation to an ever-changing external environment. The body is admirably designed for this purpose. Body temperature is and must be maintained within a two or three degree critical level in the face of external changes of 50° to 75°F. It can resist great stresses such as those inflicted by toxic materials, mechanical injury, infecting organisms, or heat and cold, so long as these are compatible with life.

When first exposed to any stress, the body becomes alarmed and over-reacts in a general way. This general reaction is somewhat inefficient in that all parts of the body react when they do not need to. For example, if a sedentary worker is suddenly exposed to the stress of digging a ditch over the weekend, the entire body aches, not only the muscles stressed. If resumed the next day, the work may be a little easier; and if continued thereafter at the same level, certain muscles will grow stronger. Unnecessary side reactions of a general nature will subside and the body will discipline itself into a state of efficient comfortable adaptation. The individual then meets his stress (physical work in this

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instance) with less effort, greater efficiency, and less strain on the body.

It is known that psychological or emotional stress can likewise have the same effects.

The normal individual working under conditions found in modern industry for eight or even ten hours a day, particularly the executive, can hardly be said to be exposed to stresses incompatible with biological existence. It has been pointed out that spending $20,000 is no more difficult a decision for the executive than is spending $20 for the janitor. By the time he becomes an experienced executive, the businessman should have learned to function efficiently even with the pressures of his job.

Yet the reality of stress disease cannot be ignored, for it is one of the great unsolved medical problems.

Coronary heart disease, arteriosclerosis, high blood pressure, gastric ulcer, colitis, migraine, allergies – all are on the suspect list of stress disease.

These diseases are very real and occupy top position in the mortality table. In searching for the causes of stress diseases, we must consider the nature of man's emotions and their place in the economy of his existence.

Most men consider emotions a ridiculous weakness worthy only of scorn – the kind of nonsense that makes poor frail women cry apparently for no reason at all. We fail to note, however, that women in our culture frequently get, or get away with, whatever it was they were crying about. That strong men should not be bedeviled with emotions is a fixed part of our thinking. Male children are taught that crying is a sign of weakness; that fear leads inevitably to cowardice, and anger to the gallows. Most adults believe that self-pity is almost a cardinal sin and that worry leads inevitably to stomach ulcers. Consequently, emotions are widely conceived as enemies to be conquered at all costs. What then is the purpose of emotions which at best are seemingly useless and at worst harmful?

Nature Has Reasons

Nature does not do foolish things; all persons have emotions, and they must have some logical function. Perhaps emotions themselves are not at fault – rather, it is our ignorance of their proper use and function.

It is impossible to measure directly the force of emotions. The rapid pulse, the labored breathing, the clenched fist, the punch in the nose – all these are manifestations of emotion; but they are no more the force of emotion than is the light from a bulb the force of elec-

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tricity. The light from a bulb is only a manifestation of electricity, which cannot itself be directly detected. So it is with emotions, which are endlessly confused with the external manifestations of emotion. There are occasions when it is necessary to tell someone to stop some form of misbehavior but our confusion between emotions and behavior leads us to tell the individual to control his temper – or his fears. But these are emotions, the internal flowing of energy. Energy, whether it is electrical or emotional, cannot be destroyed or even controlled. It may be diverted but will always seek another outlet, for nature demands its release either in stress disease or useful accomplishment.

Pain, Hunger, Fear, and Rage

Roughly speaking, there are four basic phenomena of the nervous system which make it possible for man to adapt to and survive in an ever-changing environment. These are pain, hunger, fear, and rage. Few of us attempt simply to will away pain and hunger – not because we like them but because we can't control them through will alone and could not survive without them. However, although the same purpose is served by all four phenomena, man has quite arbitrarily decided that the Creator has made an error by putting fear and anger into him, and that this error must be corrected.

The purpose of these four phenomena is to promote survival by disciplinary control over the body. The pain caused by a cinder in the eye drives us relentlessly to protect our vision by locating and removing the irritation. Hunger, almost always accompanied by aggressiveness, drives us to seek food; fear, to flee; rage, to defend ourselves. There is nothing biologically built into man directing him to either foolish or self-destructive behavior. Nevertheless, any form of energy, including emotional, can be compressed to the point where it becomes dangerous. Natural, free-flowing emotions guide and direct man into healthy survival behavior, always gauged in quality and quantity to the needs of the moment.

The newspapers reported an incident where a plane dropped a live 200-pound bomb on a carrier deck. A sailor rushed over, carried the bomb to the side and threw it overboard, saving his own life and perhaps many more. The next day, when challenged, he couldn't budge a similar but safe bomb. Healthy, natural fear gave him both the courage and the strength to adapt to a dangerous emergency. The human mind and body may be likened to a computing machine which is useless without a power

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supply. The human power supply is emotion.

A distinction must be made between emotion and behavior. A hard-breathing, red-faced individual, flailing about destructively, is not necessarily undergoing the emotion of anger. Conversely, a pleasant, calm-appearing individual may be in an intense rage, plotting murder. A convincing actor can exhibit any behavior while internally anticipating a pleasant weekend in the country.

Emotions Are Signals

Emotions are functionally equivalent to pain. Pain orders all our behavior so that we operate in our own best interest. This is not selfishness in its commonly accepted sense of greed and meanness. It is healthy self-interest to remove a cinder from our eye, and in no way conflicts with the rights or interests of others. Similarly, emotions, by the pressures and tensions they create, tell us to look into our lives, see what's wrong, and fix it up, for it is almost always highly personal and defensive, and in no way conflicts with the rights or interests of others. In order to remain physically and mentally healthy we must accept this control which nature exercises through our emotions.

For every event in our lives there is an accompanying flow of emotion to organize the body to meet our problems correctly; yet, over and over, my patients tell me that they have no real problems – that the petty irritations in their lives are too trivial to be upset about. They seem not to realize that if we fail to meet each little problem effectively, there is soon quite a collection of unsolved problems. We do not call out the fire department to put out a match; but if we do not put out each and every match, sooner or later we shall have a real conflagration. On being repressed all the little increments of emotional energy which accompany each event accumulate to a considerable feeling of tension, for the danger becomes more serious in the aggregate. Nature created man with an automatic fire department but man in his infinite wisdom has reorganized himself into ineffectiveness. When tension rises high enough, it may begin to seek other outlets through perfectly innocent organs – the stomach, the heart, the blood vessels. This is Nature's second line of warning: since we don't accept the warning of our emotions, she tries hurting us physically with pain.

At this point the individual is diagnosed as being nervous. He, his family, his friends, his boss, and often his personal physician have one prescription for treat-

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ment. This panacea consists of removing him from all unpleasant situations and insisting that he leave work, calm down, and rest. One of our most firmly held delusions is that emotional upsets are harmful and that worry is akin to taking poison. I have followed many cases in which people have been removed from more and more responsibilities until they become totally incapacitated and nonproductive – in effect, concealed pensioners. A problem cannot be solved by refusing to be aware of it or by evading our responsibility for its resolution.

Look Inside Ourselves

Our experience indicates that there is very little inherent in the work situation, as such, to cause emotional difficulties. Improper mechanisms, however, are brought into the work place by the sufferer. Usually they are techniques of avoiding unpleasantness, developed in earliest childhood for dealing with stressful situations. An individual with a high degree of mental health will automatically seek and use effective mechanisms; conversely, most people, having poorer mental health, suppress those mechanisms. If an individual finds that things do not work out well for him, he must look within himself; it is rare to find a solution in the external environment. This is a painful process, usually avoided so long as our explanations and excuses for blaming something or someone else are acceptable.

When life becomes difficult, it is reasonable to want to get away, but the self-disciplined individual knowing problems are not solved that way has the courage to see the struggle through to a resolution.

An individual who habitually evades his responsibilities will repeatedly follow his usual pattern, but usually maneuvers the circumstances so that someone else has to protect him.

It is not always kindness to encourage this evasion by acting upon the individual's own prescription. It is usually kinder in the long run to handle the situation in such a way that he develops courageous patterns of behavior through solving his own problems with the accompanying greater security.

Physicians have known for centuries that self-diagnosis is extremely dangerous, and it is particularly true in emotional difficulties for the very mind needed to diagnose the trouble is itself not functioning efficiently.

The supervisor or executive cannot accept the subordinate's excuses for his failure. The superior has a serious obligation to examine all circumstances surround-

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ing the subordinate's shortcomings. Where circumstances indicate that the error lies in the individual's failure to adapt to the realities of his situation, the supervisor must in all fairness to the man, the organization, and himself, exercise his authority to the end that the failing subordinate meets his responsibilities with effective personal action.

The supervisor who evades his responsibility for informing subordinates directly, accurately, and in a straightforward manner of the facts regarding their performance, in turn creates unresolved tensions and stresses in himself, for his success is dependent upon their performance.

A Supervisory Duty

One of the most common complaints I hear from employees is that they are not clearly informed regarding their job performance. This is vital for all of us to know, for our jobs are our bread and butter. Even job security guaranteed by company policy when not earned by productive performance will not give us the feelings of security we desire. We may be able to fool society and our bosses and even ourselves about how well we are doing our job, but we can delude ourselves only for so long, because Mother Nature will not tolerate it. It profits little to have an unearned pay check if the price of self-deception is heart disease or stomach ulcer.

The common excuse for such failure to meet this basic supervisory responsibility is that the supervisor believes he does not like to hurt others, or that it is wrong to upset people. What he fails to recognize is that there is no way for anyone to evade his responsibilities for very long. To perform this unpleasant task we ourselves must first be upset. Since we believe emotional upsets harmful, we attempt to control our upset emotions, thus aborting the drive to action. The end result is an increase in tension of all concerned.

Modern man seems to have forgotten that life is basically a conflict. The maintenance of life itself in the individual is a constant conflict between the body's need to maintain an internal steady state in the face of an ever-changing external environment. So is the struggle for existence among groups and societies. Democrats conflict with Republicans, labor with management – the list could be expanded indefinitely. Whether these conflicts should or should not exist is another question, but it must be recognized that they do exist and are potential dangers. Ignoring the emotional warnings of danger does not remove the danger itself.

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The full free life which sometimes includes a good scrap, has been submerged in a utopian desire for eternal harmony and tranquility. Lacking any realistic way of achieving it, man has developed the tranquilizer pill. Alcohol has long been a partial answer to man's desire for occasional false tranquility, but he knew the price was the next day's hangover. We have not yet learned what the body may have to pay for the tranquility of the tranquilizer.

An individual who refuses to permit himself to become emotionally upset about a business situation because, in advance, he presumes it to be hopeless is missing out on solutions which might be forthcoming if he permitted his healthy emotions to motivate his quest.

No Way To Impose Happiness

The other side of the coin shows men attempting to do the impossible. There is a widespread belief that management and supervision can and should make all their subordinates happy – not simply provide a healthy atmosphere in which they can find their own salvation. It is an impossible task for anyone to make another person happy other than to so conduct himself that he does not unduly interfere with the individual's finding his own salvation. Yet I have talked with supervisors who were thoroughly frustrated when an employee refused to be happy under their supervision, as though it were entirely the supervisor's fault.

There is in this situation a danger for the subordinate as well as for the supervisor. Creating an atmosphere that tacitly implies that the efforts will make an employee happy leads him to expect this miracle. When the efforts fail, employees are bitter and resentful. This is not to say that people do not react well to decent, fair, honest treatment, but can we do more?

For purposes of emphasis and clarity I have oversimplified, overdrawn, and exaggerated. Therefore, do not misconstrue my remarks to mean that people do not occasionally work too hard or need a vacation, or that every problem will have a handy solution if we just get angry enough. People do occasionally need or want a vacation, or want to put aside a knotty problem temporarily, or even get fed up with their jobs and want a change. I am only warning against using any panacea to evade meeting with effective personal action the real problems of our daily lives; warning against evading the internal discipline exercised through our emotions by our own biological drive to survive.

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Inevitable Imperfections

To sum up, then, man brings most of his misfortunes, his failures, and stress diseases upon himself by striving to make himself over into something allegedly finer and more nearly perfect than the Creator made him. His own strong, persistent, but delusional beliefs make him act as though he has accomplished it, and he either fails to fulfill his normal obligations or demands impossible things of himself. Either extreme is equally hazardous.

He believes that he can free himself of anger and fear; that he has powers to create a heavenly world of peace and harmony without conflict here on earth. He believes he can make all his associates, including his wife and family, happy.

His normal elemental drives and motivations – anger, fear – are being repressed to dangerous destructive tensions in the false belief that they are inimical to the welfare of himself and the group. The results are, in effect, suicide in the form of stress diseases.

Modern man thereby has sacrificed his identity, freedom, independence, self-reliance, and even his courage, in the damp laundry of mediocrity. The inevitable failure to make himself over into something less than nature intended leads him into frustration to which there is no end.

Frustration of the latter sort is quite different from the frustration which he deliberately seeks in playing golf. There is reasonable hope (although perhaps a slim one) that some day he can learn to play golf well. But I cannot see any hope within the foreseeable future that he will be able to improve upon his fundamental physiological nature.

Rather than arbitrarily attempt to improve upon his, as yet ill understood, human nature, he might try to learn more about his true nature for perhaps the Creator did a better job on him than he believes. ◆

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Goëthe

WHICH government is the best? That which teaches us to govern ourselves.

Sprüche in Prosa

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CLARIFYING FUNDAMENTALS

IF, as the poets assure us, there are nine and ninety ways of constructing tribal lays and thirteen ways of looking at a blackbird, there must be at least a dozen approaches to Volume VII of *Essays on Liberty*, the 1959-60 compilation of selections from *The Freeman* and from Leonard Read's *Notes from FEE* (Foundation for Economic Education, $3.00 cloth, $2.00 paper).

One approach would be to stress the ability of *Freeman* writers to clarify fundamentals. This would involve singling out such essays as Edmund Opitz's "The Religious Foundation of a Free Society" or Sartell Prentice, Jr.'s, "Our First Thanksgiving" or Ludwig von Mises' "The Economic Foundations of Freedom," which really stick to fundamentals.

Well, let's begin that way. Every human being who is worthy of the name is born with a sense of his own separateness and dignity. His ability to exist and to improve his estate may depend on a frequently fortuitous meshing of "chance, love, and logic," but of his right to exist he cannot express doubt without striking his flag. Mr. Opitz, who has pondered long on the sources of religious feeling, knows how the sense of individual separateness and dignity got into our Declaration of Independence: our forefathers, feeling that they were born free, accepted it as axiomatic that their rights as human beings came from the same mystic source as their lives – i.e., from "nature's God."

It wasn't so with the French revolutionists who, thirteen years after the American Declaration of Independence, made it known to the world that their "imprescriptible and unalienable rights" came, not from God, but from the "nation," which they thought of as "the source of all sovereignty."

The Pilgrim Fathers, taking their rights to corn as a grant from the commonality, experienced "generall wante or famine" (the words are Governor Brad-

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ford's) from December of 1620 on through the winter of 1623. In the spring of that third year on the inhospitable Plymouth shore, men who had "languished in miserie" debated the ways in which they might "obtaine a beter crope." With the "advise of ye cheefest amongest them," their "Govr . . . gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler. . . . and so assigned to every family a parcell of land." The result, as Sartell Prentice reminds us, was the first Thanksgiving – which occurred only after a single growing season with individuals in charge. It had taken the Pilgrims some three years to see the connection between the fundamental human right to live and worship in their own way and the fundamental economic right to work "every man for his owne perticuler."

Ludwig von Mises puts the "felt necessities" of human beings another way: "All the teachings and precepts of ethics, whether based upon religious creeds or whether based upon a secular doctrine like that of the Stoic philosophers, presuppose this moral autonomy of the individual and therefore appeal to the individual's concience." And the man who is responsible for his own autonomous conduct must insist on his right to choose in economic matters, lest his dependence on masters and "planners" should result in the enslavement of his will along with the compulsion of his energies and tastes.

Accepting the moral autonomy of the individual, other contributors to this volume naturally refrain from bludgeoning tactics when they urge the benighted to give the philosophy of freedom a fair hearing. J. Kesner Kahn, Edmund Opitz, and Leonard Read are content to "bear witness," looking to their own understanding before presuming to buttonhole others. These writers are agreed on the virtue of being so clear in the statement of principle that even the casual eavesdropper must be willing to pursue the subject further. None of them likes the hortatory, or superheated, method of proselytizing; each of them knows that forebearance has its own way of evoking the curiosity of "teachable" men.

Free Trade in History: Sixteenth Century to Date

Cutting into the *Essays* another way, let us relate them to history. When William H. Peterson goes back to the Dutch experience of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (in "Growth – the Dutch Example") or when the author of the *First National City Bank Letter* presents "Hong Kong – a Suc-

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cess Story" or when Lawrence Fertig invokes the German 1948-55 experience ("The Only Way to Sound Growth"), the reader can see for himself that the principles of freedom always pay off in a certain way when they are honestly applied. Looking back to nineteenth century history, the value of the "let alone" philosophy to Americans of past and present generations is particularly apparent in Dean Russell's essay, "The Silent Partner." As Mr. Russell says, the U. S. government didn't concern itself in any way with what Charles Goodyear might do with his method for vulcanizing rubber in 1844 after it had granted him a patent. Nor did the government even know about it when E. L. Drake drilled the first oil well at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. When the Duryea brothers and other early automobile builders used some of Goodyear's rubber and Drake's oil to put cars in motion, the officials in Washington couldn't have cared less.

Thus it was that "horse and buggy" political principles, leaving men to their own devices, got us out of the horse and buggy age. If this doesn't provide its own effective commentary on the presumption of certain politicians who like to disparage the Age of McKinley, then human beings are unteachable.

Fallacies Exposed

Still another way of reviewing the *Essays* would be to concentrate on their exposure of fallacies. There is the fallacy of supposing that you can maintain a dangerous monopoly over a long period without active government aid. In "The Phantom Called 'Monopoly'" Hans Sennholz deftly uncovers the sources of monopoly in political coercions of one sort or another. The "trusts" of 1897-1904 are related to the Dingley Tariff, the "mother of trusts" which kept foreign competitors off the necks of home-grown cartelizers. And in "Competition, Monopoly, and the Role of Government," Sylvester Petro shows how the big union monopolies are dependent on State support and favoritism to maintain their position.

Another fallacy to which a *Freeman* writer turns his attention is the one which sees a vital connection between Welfare State measures and the multiplication of wealth. P. M. Fox, generalizing from the Canadian experience in his "The Welfare State Doctrine," shows just why this is a delusion. And Paul Poirot, in "The Web of Intervention," traces the metastasis, the cancerous spread, that results from even the slightest sort of interference with free market processes.

Varying the approach to the

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subject of fallacies, one might concentrate on semantics. Frederick A. Manchester is very convincing in his distinction between true and false "rights" in an essay called "The Tricky Four Freedoms." And both Sennholz and Petro have some good acerbic fun with those who practice monopoly in the name of preserving "competition."

The Bitter Consequences

In general, *Freeman* writers address themselves to those who are capable of following a logical train of thought to its natural conclusion. They want their readers to go back home and look at themselves in the mirror. But if the sense of personal rectitude which they hope to spread is rooted in logic, they occasionally make a reader see red. One statistic turned up in a footnote by Paul Poirot caused this particular reviewer to boil with rage. The footnote reads: "For a premium of $432 a year from age 20, a man can secure from private (insurance) companies a life annuity averaging about $216 a month after he reaches 65. This is in contrast to the monthly benefit of $127 promised through Social Security."

When you consider that, by 1969, the Social Security tax on the first $4,800 of a man's wages will be 9 per cent, or $432, the barefaced robbery of the whole Social Security program is brought home in a flash. As Dr. Poirot says, the only way a government can provide a windfall for the oldsters is to fleece the youngsters.

And America professes to care for its young. Does it really? If it does, it would get so angry at the implications of Dr. Poirot's statistic that it would cleanse the air of the social "insurance" cant in a single year. ◆

▶ JEFFERSON by Albert Jay Nock. Hill and Wang, 1960. Paper $1.45, cloth $4.50

Reviewed by Robert M. Thornton

JEFFERSON, published in 1926, was Albert Jay Nock's first book – unless one counts the collection of *Freeman* pieces put together as *The Myth of a Guilty Nation* and published in 1921. Nock waited until he was over fifty before publishing this volume – an example of restraint recommended to would-be authors. *Jefferson* "isn't a life, nor does it pretend to be, but a study, in Nock's peculiar style, and immensely interesting and valuable," wrote Brand Whitlock, A. J. N.'s friend and contemporary, in one of his letters. And Henry Mencken, another friend, in his review of the book, said

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that "what emerges here is in no sense a formal biography, nor even a political history. It is, rather, an elaborate psychological study of the man. . . . In brief, the book is a sort of critical analysis of Jeffersonism, done with constant sympathy and yet with a sharp outlook for fallacy and folly. I know of no other book on Jefferson that penetrates so persuasively to the essential substance of the man."

Albert Jay Nock as a biographer was concerned with gaining an understanding of the subject and setting it down on paper. Simply putting together all the known facts about a man, while of importance, did not interest him in the least. Nor did A. J. N. have any wish to violate the privacy of his subject, a sign of good manners not often seen in these days of "intimate" biographies. The author of a biography or autobiography should tell the public only what is the public's legitimate concern, Mr. Nock has said, and he practiced what he preached in his "biography" of Mr. Jefferson and in his own "autobiography." A. J. N., like Mr. Jefferson, never hesitated to speak out frankly on public affairs but always remained silent on private matters.

Not to be overlooked is the introduction to this new edition, written by Merrill D. Peterson. Very perceptive, I would say, and extremely helpful to anyone wishing to "get the feel" of A. J. N. himself. One only wishes that Mr. Peterson had not been so stingy with his introductory remarks.

In this day when political parties advocating the Welfare State claim Thomas Jefferson as a champion for their cause, a study such as A. J. N.'s is even more valuable than at the time of its original publication. It was not too much noticed then, but, as Mr. Peterson points out, was "left to work its way in the quieter corridors of the mind" – just as Mr. Nock, with his great patience and wisdom, knew it would. ◆

▶ THE NEW ENGLAND CLERGY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Alice M. Baldwin. Published by Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, New York, 1958. 222 pp. $3.75

Reviewed by Edmund A. Opitz

SOME SORT of religion plays a role in all the higher cultures, and the major spiritual influence in the United States has been Protestant Christianity. The primary spokesman for this faith in the eighteenth century was the local parish minister. Sunday sermons in those days were tests of endurance for pulpit and pew alike, but even so the demand for the spoken word outran the supply. The clergy re-

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sponded with special sermons and lectures and on these occasions spoke out on political subjects.

Professor Baldwin's important book appeared in 1928 and has long been out of print. It rests upon much painstaking research in town records, old sermons, pamphlets, diaries, newspapers, and other writings. The clergy came down squarely on the side of liberty. They were versed in Greek and Latin studies, referred frequently to John Locke, but their reliance was on the Bible. From this source they derived their notions of a covenant or compact, the laws of nature, and Christ's "law of liberty." They expounded the thesis that "Life, Liberty, and Property are the gifts of the Creator," and a new kind of nation was brought forth.

▸ UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY: IDEOLOGY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Study by Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, No. 10, for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 86th Congress, 2nd Session. Committee print, Washington, Government Printing Office. 82 pp. 20 cents.

Reviewed by Kurt Glaser, Associate Professor of Government, Southern Illinois University.

THIS report is significant, not only because some of the Senators might read it, but also because the seven contributors are seen frequently in Washington as consultants to agencies concerned with foreign relations. It thus represents the type of advice which the Department of State is currently receiving, at least from the codfish sector of the Ivy League.

It is with no intent to detract from the several excellent features of the report that attention is focused on its most glaring flaw: an almost total breakdown when it comes to defining the American ideology.

The Harvard report labels the American and Western ideology "constitutional democracy" in the caption and "constitutional or liberal democracy" in the text. After a five-word genuflection to the "Judeo-Christian heritage" there is no further mention of God or religion. The statement of the premises and practices of "constitutional democracy" is an extract of Locke tempered by Mill and Holmes, with a dash of Fabianism.

Perhaps unwittingly, the Harvard experts have revealed why the United States has never succeeded in shaping and executing the strategy and tactics needed to win the Cold War. In a struggle of political systems it is necessary to assert and practice an ideology which effectively contradicts that of the enemy. If the

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enemy ideology involves commitments – which communism definitely does despite the perversion of Leninist "ethics" – then it is necessary to offer moral commitments of equal intensity.

The period since the American War of Independence has witnessed a general decline of religious faith, the reasons for which cannot be assessed here. In Europe, much of the resulting vacuum was filled by isms, great and small: nationalism, positivism, Hegelianism, Marxism, Fabianism, vitalism, fascism, existentialism – and, of course, communism. The United States has had a few minor isms, but we found an American Way to fill the vacuum: liberal democracy – as modernized by Mill and his successors – was upgraded from a means into an end. Being fully compatible with hedonism and demanding nothing in the way of self-denial, American liberalism could never really become an ideology. It is, however, precisely the attempt to make it one which causes modern liberals to be so intolerant.

Despite their assertion that the liberal democratic ideal is universal, the authors of *Ideology and Foreign Affairs* are realistic enough to add: "not quite." It is, for instance, "neither understood nor presently sought by the Arabs," and there are many countries in which it simply won't work. Recognizing in a backhanded way that "constitutional or liberal democracy" is after all a container which needs ideological content to compete effectively with communism, the Harvard savants proceed to fill it. With what?

With *abundance*, of course. That magic word keeps reappearing whenever the discussion turns to what the United States ought to do. "It has become an article of democratic faith," the Harvard professors declare, "that the conditions of human life can be steadily improved by technology and science and by the application of capital and investment." Let us, in any case, get on with the abundance: liberal democracy will perhaps follow by itself!

A more promising approach to a world ideology which would effectively contradict godless communism would be to look for the common denominators of the higher religions. There are universal values in Christianity, as well as in non-Christian religions, which express the dedication and fulfillment of the free man in loving communion with God and with his fellows. If we can raise the standard of a social order based on these principles, the abundance now sought directly will come as a by-product.

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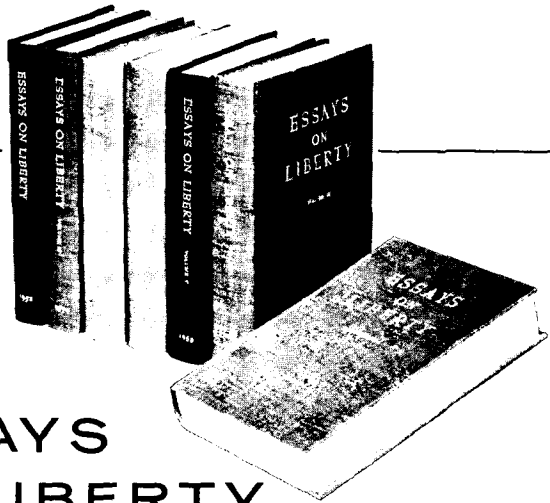

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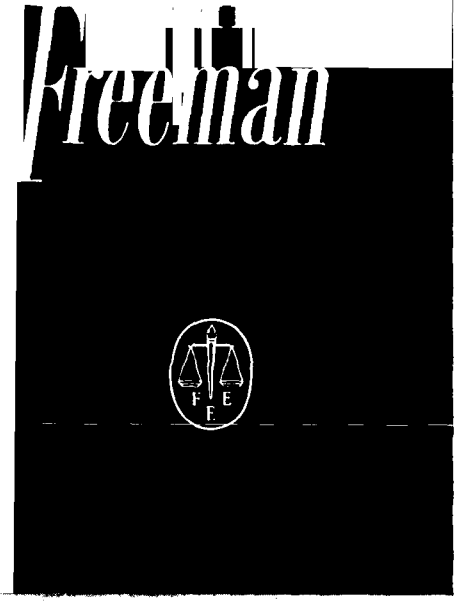

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